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KHARSHEDJI RUSTAMJI CAMA

1831–1909

A MEMOIR

BY

S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

LATE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

'There is only one path of Virtue,
All other paths are no paths.'

The Avesta.

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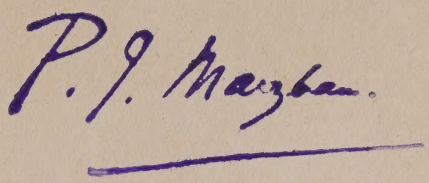

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN,

K.G., K.T., K.P., P.C., G.M.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E.,

WHO DURING THE PERIOD OF HIS STAY IN INDIA WAS ACQUAINTED WITH MR. K. R. CAMA AND REALIZED THE VALUE OF HIS SERVICES TO THAT COUNTRY AND TO THE CAUSE OF FREEMASONRY,

THIS MEMOIR

IS

WITH HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S SPECIAL PERMISSION

MOST RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

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PREFACE

The task of preparing a biography of the late Mr. Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, worthy of his character and his career as a scholar and reformer, has been rendered somewhat difficult by the fact that most of his contemporaries and intimate friends are no longer living, and the personal reminiscences which might help to illuminate the story of his life, as it appears in printed documents, are consequently not available. When, however, it was proposed, on the advice of Mr. R. P. Masani, to entrust to me the work of writing the memoir, I was emboldened by two considerations to essay the fulfilment of the task. First, I had had the good fortune to become acquainted with Mr. Cama during the last few years of his life at the monthly meetings of the Bombay Anthropological Society and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and there learned to appreciate his great mental powers and his tranquil outlook upon human affairs. Secondly, there were available for my use the two volumes—the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume and the K. R. Cama Masonic

Jubilee Volume—which were edited and published during Mr. Cama's lifetime by his devoted friend, Shams-ul-ulama Jivanji J. Modi, C.I.E., whose reputation as an Oriental scholar has long been established in both eastern and western centres of learning. Moreover, Dr. Modi kindly furnished me with certain additional notes for the work, and offered to give me his advice on any doubtful point on which I might, in the course of my task, see fit to consult him.

Besides Dr. J. J. Modi's published works, upon which I have drawn freely for my review of Mr. Cama's career, I have made use of an excellent and sympathetic appreciation of his character which Miss Manekji Cursetji contributed to the now defunct *Oriental Review* in 1903, and also of various press-cuttings and obituary notices which appeared in the Bombay newspapers in 1909, and were placed at my disposal by Mr. Cama's sons. Copies of resolutions in reference to Mr. Cama's death passed by various societies, of which he was a member, were also supplied to me, and through the good offices of Mr. W. A. Haig-Brown I was able to obtain a succinct note on Mr. Cama's Masonic career, prepared by Mr. Wise of Bombay.

Mr. M. P. Khareghat very kindly furnished me with the note on Mr. Cama's Fasli Calendar and the table which appear in Appendix B, and made various corrections in the paragraphs relating to the *Kabisa* controversy. For this assistance, and particularly for the valuable information embodied in Shams-ul-ulama Dr. J. J. Modi's publications and notes, my sincere acknowledgements are due. I can only hope that the completed work will meet with the approval of Mr. K. R. Cama's friends and will be adjudged a worthy record of a scholarly and exemplary life.

S. M. E.

London, 1922.

CHAPTER I

THE RECORD OF A LONG LIFE

'Greatness and goodness are not means, but ends!
Hath he not always treasures, always friends,
The good great man? three treasures—love and light,
And calm thoughts, regular as infants' breath;
And three firm friends, more sure than day and night,—
Himself, his Maker, and the angel Death.'

COLERIDGE.

THE life-history of Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, the grave and reverend scholar in whose memory this narrative has been compiled, is in great measure a tale of the growth of religious and social reform among the Parsis of Western India and of the gradual application of scholarly and scientific methods of research to the study of the ancient languages, literature, and religion of Iran. Though he belonged to a family which had made its mark in commerce and was himself apprenticed at an early age to a business career, K. R. Cama devoted the major portion of his active life to the pursuit of a great and inspiring ideal, namely, the purification and consolidation of the faith of his forefathers. With that object he prepared himself by dint of laborious research to appear before his own people as the interpreter of the religion of Zarathushtra: and after the manner of the famous *Gurus* of ancient India, he gathered around him

a group of ardent students whom his intellectual power and moral courage inspired to carry on the task of enlightenment and to feed the flame of knowledge which he had kindled. 'Mr. Cama's life', remarked a high authority, 'can best be summed up as that of a reformer, conservative in the best sense, profoundly anxious to amend the evils which he discerned, but always keenly desirous to construct and not to destroy. I think that is the type of reformer that India requires—the accurate and careful thinker who will ascertain facts before he attempts to teach others, and the selfless man who will work for the good of others without thought of notoriety or reward.'

The earliest connexion of the Cama family with Bombay dates from 1735, when one Kamaji Kuvarji emigrated thither from the village of Tenna in the Surat District and obtained employment in the Government treasury, where he soon gained the confidence of his superiors and rose to a well-paid position. His name appears as that of a leading member of the Parsi community in a document of the 21st February 1773, relating to adoption and heirship, which was signed on his behalf by his son, Mancherji. To Kamaji, who died on the 9th March 1773, were born two sons, Mancherji and Edalji, who built up a flourishing trade with China, setting an example which their descendants were not slow to follow. Mancherji Cama had three sons, Framji, Hormasji, and

Nasarwanji, of whom Hormasji, the grandfather of K. R. Cama, was born about 1784 and died in 1828. Together with his brothers he carried on his father's connexion with the China trade, and in turn bequeathed his business capacity to his four sons, Rustamji, Pestonji, Dosabhoy, and Ratanji, who carried on the trade under the style of Messrs. Hormasji Mancherji Cama's Sons. Rustamji, the eldest son, was born in 1810, and, after a voyage to China in 1833, traded for a time with Mr. Dinshaw Dadabhoy Gandhi in Bombay under the name of Messrs. Dinshaw Rustamji & Co. He was a man of influence in business circles and enjoyed a reputation for straight dealing and veracity. Shortly afterwards he joined his brothers, Pestonji, Dosabhoy, and Ratanji, who were the principals of the firm mentioned above, and continued trading in partnership with them until his premature death in 1839. After his death the firm continued to do business until 1871, when the partners voluntarily retired from the commercial arena, marking their decision by devoting $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees to charity in the name of Hormasji Mancherji Cama.

Rustamji Hormasji married Bai Manekbai, a member of the well-known Guzdar family, who has been described as a diligent and upright wife and a careful mother. In accordance with the fashion of those days, Bai Manekbai's education was confined to the rudiments of her own home-

language, Gujarathi: but this did not deter her from seeking to give her children the best education available in Bombay. Of this union were born two children, Kharshedji Rustamji, the subject of this memoir, on the 11th November 1831 (*Roz Khurshed Mah Khordad 1201 A. Y. Kadmi*), and his sister, Bhikaiji, in 1833. Fate dealt hardly with them in their early years, for when Kharshedji was only eight, and his sister two years younger, their father Rustamji died at the early age of twenty-nine, leaving to his devoted wife and his brothers the task of watching over the moral and material welfare of the little boy and girl. Rustamji's natural desire to safeguard the future of his children was partly responsible for the early marriage of both Kharshedji and his sister. He had received a warning that his end was near; and therefore, a few weeks before his death, he arranged for the marriage of Kharshedji to Avabai, the three-year-old daughter of his brother Dosabhoy, and of Bhikaiji to Dorabji, aged seven, the son of his brother Pestonji Hormasji Cama. Their mother, he knew, would need advice and assistance as the children grew up, and there was no surer way of enlisting the kindly sympathy of his brothers than by arranging for the marriage of his orphan children with their young cousins. It is also to be remembered that, apart from the special circumstances which prompted Rustamji's action, early marriages were at this date customary

among the Parsis in India. 'According to the law of Zoroaster,' wrote the late Dosabhai F. Karaka, 'a boy or girl ought not to be married before the age of fifteen, and this rule must have been observed by the ancient Persians; but among a number of customs which the Parsis in India adopted from the Hindus must unfortunately be included that of early marriages. Hindus are most strictly enjoined by their *Shastras* to have their girls married before they have attained the age of nine years, on failure whereof great shame attaches to their parents. This idea of shame appears to have been to some extent participated in by the Parsis, and hence the early marriage of their daughters until recent times.' But from the middle of the nineteenth century a great change gradually took place in the marriage-customs of the Parsis. Education progressed rapidly; and in consequence of the self-sacrificing work of Mr. K. R. Cama and others who ranged themselves under the same standard, the community gradually recovered their knowledge of ancient Zoroastrian customs which had been supplanted or overlaid by the practices of Hinduism during their long exile from the old home in Persia. They learned that among their co-religionists in that country a boy is not married before the age of twenty, nor a girl before the age of fifteen; and realizing the absurdity, and, as often happens, the evil of infant marriages, the Parsis cast aside this custom, so

foreign to themselves and their faith, and reverted to the ancient practice of marriage at the proper mature age, as observed by the Zoroastrians of Persia.

In the matter of education Cama's mother was determined that he should receive the best that Bombay at that date could afford. At an early age he was sent to the school department of the famous Elphinstone Institution which had developed from the schools of the Bombay Native Education Society and was established in 1835 as a collegiate institution in honour of Mountstuart Elphinstone, who directed the affairs of the Bombay Presidency with consummate wisdom and sympathy during the eight years immediately succeeding the final dissolution of the Maratha empire. In 1840, just prior perhaps to Cama's appearance as a pupil, the school and college classes were amalgamated and placed under the control of a Board of Education, which preceded the Department of Public Instruction, as it exists to-day. The student of those days had to tolerate various drawbacks from which the pupils of these days are happily free. Barely six years after Kharshedji Rustamji Cama had completed his education, the Elphinstone Institution was still housed in a building described as 'a disgrace to the present advanced state of education in Bombay', and as 'overcrowded, badly situated, and unventilated'. These material inconveniences in

no wise damped the zeal for learning which was innate in young Cama : he was bent upon working hard and justifying his mother's hopes, and in due course he passed from the school to the college course. In those days the admiration of the public for the achievements of Mountstuart Elphinstone, statesman, soldier, and scholar, pervaded every school and home in Western India, and served to link more closely than is possible in these days the professors and pupils of the Institution which bore his name. The teachers were men permeated with the doctrines of Thomas Carlyle, and endeavoured to instil into the minds of the students the principles of humanity, philanthropy, and liberty as distinguished from licence and revolution. Daily contact with his teachers could not fail to impress upon Cama's receptive mind that the secret of worldly happiness lies in constant work for the benefit of others ; and, being desirous of laying the foundations of the knowledge which was destined to distinguish his later years, he studied eagerly and gained one of the West scholarships, founded in memory of Sir Edward West (1782–1828), a former Recorder of Bombay. He held the scholarship for two years before he finally left the College in 1849, at the age of eighteen. The Elphinstone College is proud to include the name of K. R. Cama in the list of distinguished Parsis—men like the late Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., Naoroji Fardunji, and Sorabji

Shapurji Bengali—who were largely responsible for securing and directing the social, religious, and material progress of the Parsi community.

His education thus ended, K. R. Cama commenced his career in business by joining the firm of a relative, Mr. Dadabhai Hormasji Cama, at Calcutta. The young apprentice left Bombay for Calcutta in 1849, and arrived in the Bengal capital in the following year after a rather disastrous voyage. For when the ship in which he was a passenger was nearing the Bay of Bengal, a sudden hurricane arose, which wrecked her mast and sails and practically disabled her. The crew and passengers were in considerable peril: but by good fortune a passing vessel, seeing the signals of distress, stood by and rescued them all. K. R. Cama served but a brief apprenticeship in the Calcutta firm; for in 1850, the year of his arrival in Bengal, we find him setting out once more on a longer voyage to China to join his uncle's firm, Messrs. Ratanji Hormasji Cama & Co. of Canton. Here in 1852, when he attained his majority, he was made a partner in that firm and also in the firm of Messrs. Hormasji Mancherji Cama's Sons in Bombay. He resided for two years in Canton without a break; and four years elapsed before he finally quitted China for Bombay.

The year 1854, indeed, may be regarded as the close of the first period of Cama's life. The studious pupil of the Elphinstone College had

served his apprenticeship in commerce, and by dint of application and a natural aptitude for business had attained a position which enabled him to gratify his taste for scholarly research. During his stay in China we catch a glimpse of that devotion to educational and literary matters which distinguished his later life. In 1852 he offered anonymously to the Board of Education in Bombay, through the late Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, a prize of Rs. 150 for the best essay on 'The Advantages of Railways', which was won by Kaikhusru Hormasji Alpaiwala, formerly Judge of the Small Causes Court at Surat. Cama enhanced the value of his gift by publishing at his own expense five hundred copies of the winning essay. In the following year (1853) he again offered to the Board of Education a prize of Rs. 250 for an essay on 'The Education of the Natives in the Bombay Presidency—its present and future Results'. 'We are not acquainted', remarked the Board in their annual report for 1853–4, 'even with the name of the gentleman who has thus a second time come forward to incite his countrymen to useful mental exercise.' There is little doubt that during his absence in China, Cama kept himself fully apprised of the great stimulus to higher education afforded by the policy of Sir Erskine Perry and his colleagues on the Educational Board, who may justly be said to have founded a system of education which in many respects anticipated the principles laid down

in the famous Dispatch of the Court of Directors in 1854. In offering his two donations for literary competition, Cama was not only paying his tribute to the enlightened policy of the educational authorities, but giving practical proof of his own lifelong belief in the incalculable benefits which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge.

On the subject of female education Kharshedji R. Cama held equally sound and progressive views, and like several of the young men of his own age he realized that the Parsi community could not achieve any real intellectual and social advance, unless and until their women were educated. ' They perceived that if the seeds of education were to be generally spread, they should first germinate with the gentler sex. The influence which a mother or sister exercises upon a child was fully appreciated, and the youths enthusiastically determined to do some service to their country and countrymen by earnestly directing their attention to the cause of female education.' In 1848 had been founded the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, composed of professors, masters, students, and ex-students of the Elphinstone Institution. Though at the outset the society languished, the arrival of Professors Patton and Reid very shortly afterwards gave it a new life and impetus; numerous lectures in the vernacular were given; cheap periodicals were published; and a continuous discussion of the subject of women's

education appeared in the newspapers. At length, in October 1849, the Society attained its object by opening four schools for Parsi girls, the instruction in which was given by volunteer teachers. So efficient was the management and so unselfish the activities of the Society's members that older and richer members of the community were moved to contribute the necessary funds for their maintenance for two years, at the expiration of which period it was thought that 'the public would not willingly let them die'. In the second year of their foundation these schools were already viewed in the light of valuable public institutions, and the Bombay Government remarked that the spontaneous institution of these schools was 'an epoch in the history of education in the Bombay Presidency from which, it was hoped, would in due time be traced the commencement of a rapid, marked, and constant progress'. Had K. R. Cama been resident in Bombay at this period, it is certain that he would have associated himself heartily with the labours of his fellow students: for the objects of the Society were just such as appealed to one of his progressive and practical views. Being, however, in China, he expressed his sympathy in the only way open to him, and forwarded 'generous contributions', for which the Society publicly expressed their acknowledgements at a meeting held on the 10th March 1855. With one branch of the Students' Literary and

Scientific Society, the *Dnyan Prasarak Mandali* (Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge), K. R. Cama was in later years very closely connected. The part which he played in reviving this well-known society will be described hereafter.

It is convenient to consider the brief period from 1854 to 1859 as the second stage of Kharshedji Rustamji Cama's life-history. For during these years he laid the foundations of that knowledge which enabled him to stand forth as the apostle of social progress and the interpreter of the Zoroastrian scriptures. His activities in other directions were not thereby curtailed : his business interests were in no wise neglected. We read of his initiation in 1854 as a Freemason, which demands special notice in a later chapter ; of his appointment in 1855 as Honorary Secretary of the Fort Gratuitous Dispensary, which had been founded three years before, largely with the help of the Cama family ; and of his being appointed in 1854 a member of the managing committee of the Mulla Firoz Madressa, an institution founded for the study of the Parsi scriptures in memory of the distinguished high-priest of the Kadmi sect of the Parsis. It may be mentioned here that Mulla Firoz left behind him, at his death, a priceless library of valuable manuscripts, one of which is the oldest copy of the *Vendidad* to be found in India ; and this library was at first amalgamated with the Madressa. In 1857, however, the library

was separated finally from the school, though Cama continued his close association with both institutions. He remained a member of the Madressa committee until 1879, when he was elected its President—an office which he held until his death—while from 1861 to 1895 he acted as secretary, and from the latter date until 1909 as President, of the library. At his death the library contained nearly 4,500 books dealing with the Zoroastrian religion, among them being many rare Pahlavi and Avesta manuscripts, which under his auspices were sent for collation to various *savants* in Europe. Cama was also a trustee of the school until his death.

Cama's desire for reform led him during this period (1858) to become the joint-proprietor of a Gujarathi newspaper, the *Rast Goftar* ('Truth-speaker'). This paper originally appeared in 1851 as a fortnightly under the auspices of the late Dadabhai Naoroji and Kharshedji N. Cama, a second cousin of K. R. Cama, and was used as an organ of reform by those students of the Elphinstone College who had together founded the Literary and Scientific Society. The paper unceasingly urged the need of social and religious reform and the abolition of alien customs which had crept into Parsi society, and in consequence came in conflict with the more conservative vernacular papers, whose attacks upon it were not always couched in the best taste or in the most

polite language. The paper, however, continued to press upon the Parsi community the need of educating their womenfolk, and the advantages of western methods of training; and in 1858 extended its scope by advocating similar reforms in other Indian communities. This cosmopolitan attitude synchronized with the appearance of several young men, including K. R. Cama, as joint-proprietors of the paper; and the fact that they assumed responsibility for it at a moment when its losses were estimated at about Rs. 10,000, says much for their spirit and determination. Fortunately this heavy liability was shouldered by Dosabhai Framji Cama, a second cousin of K. R. Cama, so that the paper started on its further career free of debt. Cama finally severed his business connexion with the *Rast Goftar* in 1869. Portraits of the joint-proprietors of 1858 were published in 1901 in the jubilee number of the paper, which called its readers' attention to 'the boyish face of our K. R. Cama, so different from the venerable and saintly face that we see daily moving amongst us'.

His activity in the sphere of commerce is shown by the fact that in June of the year following his return from China (1855), he sailed for England in the company of Mancherji Hormasji Cama and Dadabhai Naoroji, and founded the first Indian business-house in London, under the name of Cama & Co., with a branch in Liverpool. During

his stay in England on this occasion, Cama was for a time the guest of Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose prudent and sympathetic control of the Bombay Presidency, from 1819 to 1827, has already been mentioned, and whose services to the cause of Indian education had been publicly recognized by all classes at the time of his retirement. One can well understand the pleasure which the ex-Governor must have felt at the opportunity thus afforded to him of discussing Bombay problems with one of the most intellectual and studious *alumni* of the college founded in his honour.

One experience which befell him during his visit to England deserves special mention. Cama had never had an opportunity of seeing Her Majesty Queen Victoria; and on learning that she was to pass along a certain road to attend some function, he determined to gratify his wish to see her. Accordingly, in company with a Parsi friend, said to have been the late Mr. Dosabhoy Framji Karaka, Cama took his stand at a prominent place on the route. Both of them wore their Parsi dress, and were permitted by the courtesy of the authorities to occupy a good position. As Her Majesty passed, they both saluted her in the Indian way; and she, remarking this and their Parsi costume, sent immediately to inquire who they were. This was followed by a special message, inviting them to go and see Her Majesty's palace.

On presenting themselves at the hour fixed, they were courteously shown over the palace and were also given lunch. Cama referred to this incident with gratification in later years.

Cama's connexion with the new firm did not last long. At the end of 1858 or early in 1859 he decided, for personal reasons which did credit to his honesty, to resign his partnership: and this gave him the opportunity, which as a student he welcomed, of setting out upon a journey to the principal cities of Europe to meet, and obtain enlightenment from, the leading authorities on the Pahlavi and Avesta languages. His principal courses of study were undertaken at Paris and Erlangen. Besides improving his knowledge of French and German, he studied the languages of the Zoroastrian scriptures, and attended a course of lectures by Professor Charle on the religion of Zoroaster. In Paris he became the pupil of Professors Mohl and Oppert, and of Professor Spiegel at Erlangen. Philology was another subject to which he devoted his attention, and in later years he taught it to Sheriarji D. Bharucha and other students. The course of his studies also brought him into frequent contact with Burnouf, Bopp, Haug, Menant, and other authorities of European reputation. 'Miss Menant, the famous authoress of *Les Parsis*,' writes Miss Manekji Cursetji, 'often remarked that she was a child of about seven when Mr. Cama used to be a visitor

at her place, and she ascribed her interest in the Parsis to the vivid impression which he left on her mind.' Nothing illustrates more clearly his studious turn of mind and simplicity of character than this tour in Europe. He was still in the prime of life and in possession of adequate private means, and might therefore have easily indulged in the luxuries and dissipations which the world offers to young men of independent position. But he had determined ' to live in order to learn ', and therefore chose rather to sit at the feet of Oriental scholars and study the ancient languages of his people than to waste his time in more material amusements. He even paid a special visit to the Roman Catholic Monastery at Chartreuse, in order to study the lives of the monks and the general working of monastic institutions of this character.

While devoted to the cause of education, K. R. Cama was a firm believer in the value of physical training and exercise. *Mens sana in corpore sano* was a doctrine to which he paid more than mere lip-service. In 1860, the year following his return from Europe, he became a member of the managing committee and honorary superintendent of the gymnasium on the Esplanade, which is now known as the Sir Dinshaw Petit Gymnastic Institution, and twenty-five years later (1885) was unanimously chosen President of that popular centre of physical training. Thus, for more than forty years he superintended the administration

of an institution which has given physical training to thousands of Indian youths. In 1861 he joined the first Parsi Volunteer Corps, which the late Mr. Jahangir B. Wacha was instrumental in establishing. Apart, however, from his association with these movements and the physical exercises which formed a part of his daily routine at home, K. R. Cama's activities were devoted chiefly to intellectual pursuits. From 1860 onwards he was closely connected with the management of the Zoroastrian Girls' Schools Association, which had been formed in 1857 to take charge of certain schools founded and conducted until that year by the Students' Literary and Scientific Society. This step marked the practical recognition by the Parsis of the advantages of female education ; and when the leaders of the community offered to relieve the Students' Society of the task of supporting the Parsi denominational girls' schools, the enthusiasm of the Parsis was so great that they subscribed a very large sum to place the schools on a more assured basis. Originally all the girl pupils were educated free of charge ; but from 1862, two years after Cama joined the managing committee, the parents of well-to-do Parsi children were required to pay a monthly fee for each pupil, the daughters of the poorer classes being admitted free. Eleven years later, all free admissions were abolished, and a small monthly fee of eight annas only was levied from every girl whose parents'

means would not allow of a higher payment. Cama's connexion with these schools continued throughout his life; for he was appointed one of the trustees of the Association in 1885, and finally was chosen President in 1895. The schools have greatly prospered since their first establishment, imparting solid instruction to thousands of girls and improving the intellectual and social outlook of succeeding generations of Parsi women. Among the many endowments founded for the benefit of the schools may be mentioned the sum of Rs. 12,000 given by the relatives of Bai Avabai, K. R. Cama's first wife, the interest of which defrays the cost of a scholarship worth Rs. 120 per annum and the salaries of one or more school-mistresses.

Cama's association with the cause of education was responsible for his election to the honorary treasurership of two funds of importance at that date. The first was the memorial fund in honour of Mountstuart Elphinstone, who will ever be remembered as the founder of education in the Bombay Presidency. Cama took control of this fund in 1860. In 1863 he was likewise chosen treasurer of the money collected for the purpose of presenting a purse to Dr. John Harkness, the first Principal of the Elphinstone College, on his retirement from office. In the year 1861 he had been elected a member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which had grown out of the Literary Society founded by Sir James

Mackintosh in 1804, and thus commenced an association with the chief local centre of historical and archaeological research which lasted until the day of his death. He became a member of the managing committee of the Society in 1878 and one of its Vice-Presidents in 1896. His services to the Society are best described in the words of the resolution passed at a meeting held shortly after his death.

> 'The Society places on record its deep sense of the loss it has sustained by the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, Mr. K. R. Cama, and its testimony to his varied abilities, to the interest he took in its affairs, and to his great services in connexion with Iranian literature. Mr. Cama was one of the oldest members of the Society, having been elected in 1861. He was a Trustee of the invested funds of the Society and one of its Vice-Presidents. During the celebration of the centenary of the Society he took a prominent part in organizing and successfully carrying out arrangements in connexion with the Iranian section of the programme, and by his profound learning added greatly to the interest of the occasion. The Society deeply regrets the loss of so useful a member, and one whose death is a loss to the cause of Oriental literature in general in this city.'

After the death of his first wife, Avabai, in 1863, K. R. Cama went on a tour through India in company with the late Mr. Kharshedji Nasarvanji Cama, Ardeshir Framji Moos, Dr. Bhau Daji, and Mr. E. Rehatsek. Of the four friends who accom-

panied him, both Messrs. Bhau Daji and Rehatsek had established their reputations in the field of Oriental scholarship, while Kharshedji Nasarvanji Cama was known in Bombay as the liberal patron of educational institutions and a staunch friend to all individual workers in the field of education. Without his encouragement and support, the first Parsi reformers could not have accomplished half the task which stands to their credit of popularizing female education among their own people. During their halt in Calcutta, we catch a glimpse of Cama attending a lecture given by Professor Cowell, who expressed certain views about the *Shah Nama* of Firdausi which Cama could not accept. Then and there he rose and combated the lecturer's arguments with evidence of an incontestable character. In the same year Cama became a member of the managing committee of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madressa at Navsari, in which the Avesta, Pahlevi, and Persian languages are taught, and also of the Alexandra Native Girls' Institution in Bombay, which was established in 1863 by the late Manakji Kharshedji Shroff, formerly a judge of the Small Causes Court and a man of very advanced views on the subject of education. He named the school after H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, on the occasion of her marriage with the future King-Emperor of India, and raised funds for the construction of a school-house by means of a bazaar, opened by the Duke of Edin-

burgh in 1870, to which various members of the Royal Family contributed articles of value. Under the auspices of the managing committee, of which Cama was one of the first members, the school flourished exceedingly, and was instrumental in spreading a desire for English education for girls at a time when the more orthodox and conservative section of the community viewed the innovation with considerable disfavour. Cama testified in a practical manner to his belief in the value of the institution by subscribing Rs. 1,000 to its funds.

Meanwhile Cama's intellectual vigour and business capacity had attracted the attention of the Bombay Government, who appointed him in 1863 a member of the old Bench of Justices of the Peace, which was responsible, *inter alia*, for the supervision and control of the municipal fund, and also delegated three of its members to serve on the Board of Conservancy which performed all the executive duties of the urban administration. Barely two years later a new Municipal Act was passed, whereby the Justices of the Peace were created a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal, and with the power to hold lands, impose taxes and rates, and borrow money on the security of the latter. In 1904, when certain chosen Justices of the Peace were formed into three benches of Honorary Magistrates, with the object of giving relief to the stipendiary

Presidency Magistrates in the disposal of the less important police cases, Cama was one of those chosen for this duty. His public service as a Magistrate ceased only with his death, for he died suddenly at 7 a.m. on the 20th August 1909, at the moment when he was preparing to leave his house for the Court in which he was accustomed to sit and dispose of complaints.

In the year following his appointment as a Justice of the Peace, Cama rendered valuable services to the Bombay Government in another direction. In 1863 the Indian Census Act was promulgated, prior to which date no official estimate of the Bombay population had been prepared. In consequence of the Share Mania and the general commercial excitement caused by the American War and the consequent stoppage of the American cotton supply, the population of Bombay had so largely increased that Sir Bartle Frere determined to have a census taken in 1864, in the justifiable belief that no sanitary improvement could be effected without an accurate estimate of population. Much opposition to this measure was shown by the Government in England; but Sir Bartle Frere was persuaded of its utility and entrusted the operations to the Municipal Health Officer, Dr. Leith. The difficulties of enumeration in a cosmopolitan city like Bombay were greatly increased by the ignorance and timidity of the masses of the population, who,

knowing nothing of the reasons underlying the census, suspected all manner of evils from the action of the authorities. The educated men of various communities were therefore asked to assist by explaining the aims and objects of the census to the illiterate masses, and Cama was among those who undertook this by no means easy duty. Forming themselves into committees, Cama and his fellow workers delivered lectures in various parts of the city, and by personal explanation and persuasion impressed upon the people the absence of all cause for alarm. They received the special thanks of the Bombay Government for this voluntary work, which greatly lightened the task of the census and police authorities.

It is perhaps needless to remark that Cama held entirely aloof from the orgy of insane speculation which occurred in Bombay in 1864 and ended in the terrible financial crash of 1865. At a time when nearly every one in the city, from the highest to the lowest, was bitten by the fever of gambling and sought to make a fortune out of the mushroom companies and financial associations which then sprang into ephemeral existence, Cama and his two uncles and a few others set their faces sternly against the mania and followed their daily avocations undisturbed by the cries of the market-place. Cama's activities at this date will be mentioned in detail on a later page ; and all that need be said here is that, while some of his most enlightened

co-religionists, men of business like himself who should have known better, were tempting fortune in the share market, Cama was steadily prosecuting those researches into Iranian religion and literature which constitute one of his chief claims to the gratitude of posterity. Apart from this, the chief events of his life in the year of the financial disaster were his second marriage to Bai Aimai, daughter of the late Manakji Kharshedji Shroff, whose foundation of the Alexandra Girls' School has already been described, and his appointment as a trustee of the Nasarvanji Mancherji Cama Charity Fund, of which he also became chairman in 1885. In 1866 his services in the field of education were rewarded by his election to a fellowship of the Bombay University; and in the year following he was appointed a delegate of the Parsi Chief Matrimonial Court, which under the provisions of the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1865 superseded the old Panchayat as a tribunal for adjudicating domestic questions of this nature.

Cama was actively associated with the protest raised by the Parsi community against the marriage Bill introduced by Sir Henry Maine in the Viceregal Legislative Council in 1868. This Bill, which owed its preparation to the influence of the Brahmo-Samaj—a society formed to purge Hindu life of its more barbarous associations—made it lawful for any person other than a Christian to marry a woman of another caste or creed by merely

taking an oath before a Registrar in the presence of three witnesses. The leading men of the Parsi community realized that the Bill, if it became law, would nullify the provisions of the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act XV of 1865, which they had struggled so earnestly to obtain ; and consequently they convened a meeting of the community on the 4th November 1868, with the object of obtaining their sanction to memorialize the Indian Government for the exemption of Parsis from the operation of the Bill. Cama was chosen a member of the committee appointed to draft the necessary memorial, which was subsequently approved by the community at a second mass-meeting on the 15th December 1868. This protest, coupled with widespread objections from other communities in India, led to the Bill being shelved for the time being by the Legislature. It was resuscitated and eventually passed in 1871, but was made applicable only to members of the Brahmo-Samaj.

In 1869 Cama, who shared the general appreciation of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's services, expressed his readiness to serve on the committee of the Bombay branch of the East India Association, which had been established two years previously by that distinguished Indian in London. The local branch continued in existence till 1885, when it was merged, together with the old Bombay Association, in the Bombay Presidency Association. With another institution, inseparably connected

with Dadabhai Naoroji's early career, Cama had a longer and closer connexion dating from 1870. The *Dnyan Prasarak Mandali*, or 'Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge', originated as a branch of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society on the 6th September 1848, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji being the first President and Ardeshir Framji Moos the first honorary secretary of the Society. For ten years the Society pursued its objects by means of lectures and by the publication of a monthly magazine in the Gujarathi language: but in 1858 the lectures ceased, and in 1868 the magazine also was discontinued. From that date until 1870 the Society remained in a state of suspended animation owing to lack of funds. On the 12th April in the latter year a special meeting was held at the Framji Kavasji Institute, under the chairmanship of the late Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, for the purpose of resuscitating the Society; and by the 15th June 1870 the Society had been reorganized and restored to active work by a special committee of which K. R. Cama was a member. From that date until his death Cama was actively associated with the Society, being its Vice-President from 1872 to 1874, and its President from the latter year until his death in 1909. During this long period of thirty-five years he controlled the affairs of the Society with conspicuous zeal and ability. It was largely owing to his active interest that from

1886–7 the Bombay Government provided an annual grant to the Society's funds on the recommendation of Mr. Chatfield, the Director of Public Instruction: it was Cama who played a leading part in offering an address from the Society to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji when the latter returned to India in 1893, after his election as first Indian member of the House of Commons; it was again in great measure due to Cama's energy that in 1895 a successful scientific, industrial, and educational conversazione was held for three days in the premises of the Elphinstone High School. Three years later the Society celebrated its jubilee by holding another conversazione and exhibition, which was formally opened by Lord Sandhurst, Governor of Bombay. As President of the Society, Cama delivered a brief address, in which he quoted extracts from a congratulatory letter received from Dadabhai Naoroji, who fully appreciated the efforts of Cama and his circle to revive and popularize the association of which he himself was one of the original founders. Among the practical works undertaken by the Society under Cama's auspices were the publication and free distribution in 1899–1900 of 15,000 copies of a Gujarathi translation of a note on plague-inoculation written by Sir Balchandra Krishna, a well-known medical practitioner of Bombay. The object of the note was to explain the reasons underlying inoculation and to dispel the mis-

conceptions and prejudices which were prevalent at that date. Much also was done in the way of arranging lectures and addresses, and in other directions carrying on the educative objects of the Society. Cama's death was undoubtedly a great loss to the *Dnyan Prasarak Mandali*, the members of which at a public meeting on the 8th February 1910 in the Framji Kavasji Institute, held under the presidentship of Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, unanimously confirmed a lengthy resolution passed by the managing committee in August 1909, testifying to the great services which Cama had rendered to the Society and to the sense of irreparable loss caused by his death.

The same year, 1870, in which Cama undertook the revival of the *Mandali*, and also was elected *ex-officio* Vice-President of the parent institution, the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, witnessed his public opposition to the views of the great majority of his co-religionists on a social problem of some importance. From the earliest times the Parsis of Western India have been peculiarly jealous of the honour and good name of their women ; and it has been their boast in the past that the vice of prostitution was unknown among them. This is the more remarkable, in view of the fact that perhaps in no other country of the world has the courtesan from time immemorial been regarded with greater tolerance than in India. So careful were the Parsis to leave no loophole for

mischance that in 1819, for example, when the Panchayat received information that Parsi women were in the habit of leaving their houses after sunset, it issued a proclamation forbidding any Parsi woman to leave her home alone on any pretext whatever before sunrise or after sunset, and declaring that any woman, unavoidably detained at a friend's house, should not return home without a servant and a lighted lantern; and further, that any woman found walking on the road unaccompanied would be seized by the *nase-salars* (professional corpse-bearers) and confined in the *nasakhana*, where the funeral biers are stored. Such being the general attitude of the Parsis on this question, it can well be imagined with what anger and amazement they learnt that, on the introduction in 1870 of the Contagious Diseases Act, two Parsi women had applied to the authorities for the necessary permit to ply the trade of prostitute. On the 4th June about two hundred Parsis sent a representation on the matter to Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai, the second Baronet, and other leading Parsis, as a result of which the addressees held three meetings at Sir Jamshedji's residence. These meetings were attended by the Dasturs and other authorities of the fire-temples, and with their concurrence it was resolved to summon a general meeting of the community. At this meeting, which was called by Sir Jamshedji on the 3rd July 1870, a proposal, which received con-

siderable support, was laid before the audience, that, by way of punishment, the disposal of the bodies of such women and their children in the Towers of Silence should be prohibited. In brief, the women were to be regarded as outside the pale of the Zoroastrian faith, and therefore to be denied the burial-rites common to the community. Cama's humanity and religious knowledge were opposed to this penal proposal. He submitted to the meeting a careful memorandum, in which he pointed out that the proposed punishment was not to be found among the penalties prescribed for offences in the ancient scriptures of the Zoroastrians; that if Parsi women of ill fame were denied Zoroastrian burial-rites, their bodies would necessarily have to be buried or cremated—both of which practices are repugnant to the Parsi religion—and lastly that the wiser and more humane course would be to endeavour to lead the unfortunate women into the path of respectability and virtue from the slough into which they had fallen. His arguments, based on their own scriptures and manifestly sincere, produced a marked impression; but, nevertheless, the meeting passed the proposal for excommunication. In due course the resolution was forwarded to the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat, who had charge of the Towers of Silence, and they asked the Dasturs to express their opinion on the question. The latter, after considering the views of Mr. Cama, decided that

the feeling of the general community was correct and that the proposal for excommunication should be upheld, subject to the proviso that repentant women might after the performance of certain ceremonies have their right to use the Towers of Silence restored, and that the bodies of women who repented only on their death-bed might, if their relatives so wished, be exposed on the *chotra* or non-consecrated platform. Thus the Dasturs attached sufficient importance to the opinion of Mr. Cama to modify the order passed by the general body, and since that date the practice of the community has followed the resolution thus amended. The final issue of the matter bears ample testimony to Cama's knowledge and careful interpretation of Zoroastrian lore.

In 1871 Cama's uncles decided to close the firm of Messrs. Hormasji Mancherji Cama's Sons, and to mark the occasion by establishing a charity trust. Accordingly they set apart a sum of Rs. 100,000, to which Cama added a further sum of Rs. 25,000 from his own pocket, and founded the 'Hormasji Mancherji Cama Charity Fund', the annual interest of which is devoted to assisting and educating poor members of the Cama family and other Parsis. Cama was appointed a life-trustee of this fund, with power, during his lifetime, to spend Rs. 1,000 out of the income of his portion of the fund for any Zoroastrian religious or charitable purpose without reference to his co-trustees. The

fund is one of several which have contributed to the general welfare of the Parsi community. Two years later (1873) Cama was appointed a trustee of Dadysett's *Atash-Behram* and of the *Kadmi Gahambar* Fund, of which he became chairman in 1892. Dadibhai Nasarvanji, the Dadysett, who built the fire-temple in question in 1783 for the benefit of the Kadmi sect of the Parsis, laid the foundations of the fortunes of the Dadysett family in the eighteenth century, by trading successfully with Europe and China. At the time when the controversy between the Shehenshais and Kadmis on the subject of the Parsi calendar was at its height, Mulla Kavas Rustam Jalal, father of the well-known Mulla Firoz, was deputed to go to Persia and obtain any information that might be available to support the contention of the Kadmi sect. After his return from Persia in 1780, he visited Bombay, where he made the acquaintance of Dadibhai Nasarvanji who had acquired a leading position in the city by reason of his wealth and unbounded benevolence. He persuaded Dadibhai to build the famous *Atash-Behram* for the benefit of his co-sectaries, and was himself appointed head Dastur of the Kadmis on the opening of the fire-temple in 1783. It was of this old and well-known temple that Cama, himself a Kadmi, served as a trustee until his death.

Meanwhile the urban administration of Bombay had undergone statutory alterations, which

resulted in offering to men of Cama's type increased opportunities for public service. The Municipal Act of 1872 created a Corporation of sixty-four members, one-half of whom were elected by the rate-payers and the remainder were nominated in equal proportions by the Justices of the Peace and by Government. It was under the provisions of this Act that Cama was chosen in 1875 by the rate-payers of Malabar Hill and Girgaum to represent their interests on the Municipal Corporation. For about six years he discharged these duties, taking an active share in the discussions on health, sanitation, and water-supply which occupied public attention during those years. These activities in no wise interfered with his educational and literary work; his lectures and addresses and the publication of pamphlets on Zoroastrian and other subjects continued unabated. A tribute was paid to his learning in 1879 when he was appointed Honorary Superintendent of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Zend and Pahlevi Madressa, which was founded in Bombay to commemorate the name of the first Parsi baronet. A still more remarkable proof of public confidence in his mental capabilities and judgement was afforded in 1882, when the Muhammadan community asked him to serve as member of a committee appointed to report upon the condition and needs of the Madressa attached to their chief communal institution, the Anjuman-e-Islam.

The honour thus conferred by the followers of Islam upon a Parsi is probably unique in the educational history of Western India.

At this point it is convenient to refer to Cama's connexion with the Colaba Mill Company, which he served first as a director and later as secretary and manager on a fixed monthly salary. In this capacity he worked for about fifteen years, coming to Colaba every morning by an early train from Grant Road and, after a break for a meal about 10 a.m., carrying on the business of the mill till 5 p.m. As may be imagined, these duties left him little time for the Iranian studies which he loved, and he was forced to content himself with helping and encouraging others to carry on the work of research. He was able, however, to attend the meetings of societies after leaving his office in the late afternoon, and, though he took no part in the discussions, he was a regular visitor to the meetings of the *Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandali*, of which he was himself the founder. His reasons for suddenly breaking the course of his Iranian studies and becoming the salaried official of a textile company are not definitely known; but it is probable that he found his means hardly sufficient to meet the expenses of educating a growing family and determined that employment in the mill was the most suitable way of increasing his income. It is unfortunate that the company's business failed to prosper, owing to circumstances

beyond the control of the management, for no company could have had a more conscientious and active secretary than Cama.

In 1885 Cama added to his many literary and fiduciary burdens by accepting the office of Honorary Secretary of the fund established in memory of the late Kharshedji Nasarvanji Cama for the purpose of assisting poor Parsi students to pursue their school and collegiate studies. Kharshedji N. Cama, in whose name the fund was opened, was as zealous a Zoroastrian and as staunch a reformer as the subject of this biography. He had served as honorary treasurer of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Society from its first establishment: he was one of the four leading Parsis who together provided funds for the maintenance of the earliest Parsi girls' schools: and as stated elsewhere, hardly a single educational or other institution existed in Bombay which had not profited by his liberal contributions. The memorial fund, of which Cama became honorary secretary and trustee, was said a few years later to be providing assistance annually to more than four hundred Parsi students.

Cama played a prominent part in the foundation in 1886 of another well-known Bombay institution —the Anthropological Society, which under the guidance of Mr. Edward Tyrell Leith was established in April of that year with the object of ' promoting anthropological research in India by the investiga-

tion and recording of facts relating to the physical, intellectual, and moral development of man, and specially of the various races inhabiting the Indian Empire'. Cama worked with enthusiasm for the success of the Society: he became one of the original members of its council, and from the outset performed the duties of auditor of the Society's accounts. In 1890 he was appointed Vice-President, and filled that office until his death nineteen years later without a break, except once in 1901 when he was elected President for the year. No member was more regular in his attendance at the Society's meetings, and none showed more interest than he did in the discussions which usually followed the papers read by members at the monthly gatherings. It was at these meetings that the author of this memoir first met Kharshedji Rustamji Cama and learned to appreciate his wise outlook upon human affairs. Though he had grown old, the unimpaired power of his intellect was apparent from the close attention which he paid to the periodical discussions on matters of custom and folk-lore, as well as from the illuminating remarks which he occasionally interposed in the course of the debates. Even had he never spoken at these meetings, his venerable aspect and the tranquillity of his carriage in those later years would have produced an effect, which cannot be adequately described in words, upon his younger colleagues in the Society. In these dark days, when

the world is still struggling against the unrest, the passions, and the economic disasters engendered by the Great War, it is some small relief to conjure up a vision of the quiet room in the Town Hall, where the Society held its meetings, and recall the peaceful dignity of the oldest member of the Society as he sat listening to the proceedings. Those days of comparative freedom from worldly cares may for some of us never return: but our consolation must be that we have once been privileged in happier times to meet as a friend and colleague one who radiated an atmosphere of mental and spiritual tranquillity.

The year 1886 also witnessed Cama's election as President of three well-known schools at Navsari, the Bai Nawazbai Girls' School, the Dadabhai Kavasji Tata Anglo-vernacular School, and the Nasarvanji Tata Zend Madressa. In the following year he joined the committee of a fund for providing housing-accommodation for poor Parsis. But the major portion of such leisure as he could spare from his own literary researches was devoted to assisting with his counsel and moral support various educational institutions and learned societies. Among the former may be mentioned the Zoroastrian girls' schools of Bombay and various schools for Parsi children of both sexes; while among the latter were the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute, the Students' Literary and

Scientific Society, the Senate of the Bombay University, the Native General Library, and the *Anjuman-e-Ilmi-e-Farsi*.

Omitting for the moment any reference to his struggle to secure recognition by the University of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages, the next salient event of Cama's life was the loss of his second wife, Bai Aimai, who died in Poona in 1895. He felt her loss deeply, for she had worked wholeheartedly with him in the cause of female education and Parsi social reform. Yet sincerely as he mourned the departure of a model wife and mother, Cama was not the man to wear his sorrow on his sleeve, and believed that the sincerest tribute that he could offer to her memory was to continue the public activities which formed the mainspring of his life. 'It was on the evening of the eighth or ninth day after the sad event,' writes his old friend Shams-ul-ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, 'that I saw him at a semi-public gathering at Petit Hall, convened to present an address of welcome to the new Persian Consul-General, who had arrived shortly before in Bombay. According to the usual Parsi notions, one similarly afflicted would take the event as an occasion to excuse himself from attendance; but Kharshedji Cama, with his high ideal of duty, generally rises above such notions.' It was in the same year that he gave another proof of his moral courage and independence of opinion by obtaining the dis-

missal of the high-priest of the Kadmi sect, to which he belonged, for an act which contravened the Parsi matrimonial law. He incurred a good deal of odium from some of his co-religionists for the stand which he took in this matter and for the resolution which he moved at a meeting summoned to adjudicate upon the case. But he was not to be moved by persuasion or hostility from his opinion, and in the end he secured approval of his own views.

In 1896 occurred an event of sinister import—the notification at Bombay in August of that year of the first case of bubonic plague.

> 'Less terrible in its effects than famine,' writes the author of the *Historical Geography of India*, 'its ravages were destined to be ultimately far more permanent and devastating. The worst famines rarely last into the second year, and the kindly forces of nature with their wonderful recuperating power soon restore to parched lands and stricken peoples fertility and abundant sustenance. The deadly virus of plague infection advances by insidious steps, strengthening month by month its deadly grip upon paralysed cities and provinces. . . . In the early nineties it spread slowly across China and, probably brought by infected rats on grain-ships from Hong-Kong, it broke out in Bombay in the autumn of 1896, rapidly spreading among the crowded and squalid tenement houses of the native quarter, and causing an exodus of the panic-stricken population. The government were at once faced with a difficult and delicate problem—the extent to which it was possible,

in view of Indian prejudices and convictions, to put into force the scientific counsels of perfection pressed upon them by their medical advisers.'

In the panic and disorganization of urban life which accompanied the early years of this disastrous visitation, the Bombay Government turned for assistance, advice, and support to the leading citizens; and Cama was one of the first to offer his services to them as a 'Plague Volunteer'.

The main object of the authorities, in their struggle with the epidemic, was to allay popular panic, to introduce greater personal cleanliness and sanitary precautions among the masses of the population, and to impress upon all alike the value of inoculation as a prophylactic. Cama set about his self-imposed duties in a manner typical of his rugged honesty. Believing in the truth of the proverb that an ounce of example is better than a pound of precept, he had himself inoculated more than once in the presence of a large concourse of people, in order to encourage others to take advantage of the prophylactic. The question also arose whether Parsi priests could be inoculated with Professor Haffkine's plague serum without infringing religious rules and precepts; whether in fact the serum was *nacus* (decomposing matter) from the standpoint of the *Vendidad*, which strictly prohibits people from contact with any decomposing matter that might endanger life. Cama, on being asked to give his opinion on the

question, arranged for a personal interview with the senior physician in charge of the plague-laboratory and with his help made a close inquiry into the whole process of manufacture of the serum. Armed with this information and with his own unrivalled knowledge of the *Vendidad*, he prepared a lecture in favour of inoculation which he delivered under the auspices of the Parsi Panchayat in October 1899, at Dadysett's fire-temple in the Fort. He repeated the lecture in January 1900, at Navsari, the head-quarters of the Parsi priesthood. But the tale of his services during those days of high mortality does not end with his championship of inoculation.

> 'I well remember', wrote Shams-ul-ulama J. J. Modi in the *Elphinstonian* of September 1909, 'the many evenings when he accompanied me in the early days of the plague epidemics to various Parsi segregation-camps, to explain to the people the advantages of attending to sanitation and cleanliness; and I well remember also the many mornings we spent at Colaba on plague-inspection and at the meetings of the managing committee, at first of the Plague Hospital, and then of the Free Dispensary at Colaba. Of those meetings he was the leading and moving spirit. The Presidency Association, the Sanitary Association, several public dispensaries and charitable institutions, all enjoyed the advantage of his sage counsel.'

Thus did Cama, at an age when many men might have held themselves justified in leaving a difficult

and in some respects dangerous duty to younger hands, devote his energies to the service of the Government and the people. The value of his services was recognized in 1899 when the Government presented him with a certificate of merit for his work as a 'Plague Volunteer'. The value of the example which he set by his self-sacrificing action was incalculable, for he did much to hearten and reassure those among whom the disease raged with such terrifying force.

Among the various charitable and educational institutions to which K. R. Cama devoted his leisure and talents was the important Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Parsi Benevolent Institution, originally founded in 1843 with money subscribed by the first Parsi baronet and the old Parsi Panchayat for the relief of the Parsi poor. In 1898 Cama became a member of the managing committee of this institution, which for many years previously had maintained certain well-known Anglo-vernacular schools, recognized by the Government and attended by nearly four hundred pupils. His unremitting labours on behalf of his fellow Zoroastrians and his valuable researches into the ancient literature of Iran, as well as his indefatigable efforts for the moral, social, and educational advancement of his fellow countrymen, culminated about this date in a movement to mark the attainment of his seventieth year of age by some signal token of the appreciation felt for his services

both in Europe and India. A lengthy and graphic sketch of his life had been published a few years before in the columns of the *Jam-e-Jamshed*: but his many admirers desired some more tangible recognition of his long career as guide, philosopher, and friend. The initiative was taken by Shams-ul-ulama Jivanji J. Modi, also a scholar of European reputation, who in 1899 addressed letters both to European *savants* and Parsi students of Iranian literature, asking them to contribute papers and articles on Iranian subjects to form a 'K. R. Cama Memorial Volume'. The response to Shams-ul-ulama Modi's letter was most gratifying. Thirty valuable articles were received, including two from Mr. Kama's first pupil, Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, who also contributed an introductory paper on Cama's public services and private character. Other papers were received from Dr. Wilhelm of Jena University, Dr. Casartelli of Manchester, Dr. West, Professor Jackson of Columbia University, Dr. Lawrence H. Mills of Oxford, and Professor Geldner of Berlin. The remaining articles were contributed by Parsi scholars, many of whom had drawn their inspiration for research into the past history of their race from Cama's personal example. To this collection of learned papers Shams-ul-ulama J. J. Modi contributed a preface and introduction, and Khan Bahadur Bahmanji Behramji Patel a chronological summary of the more

important events of Cama's life. The book, which is entitled 'The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, Essays on Iranian subjects written by various scholars', and is dated 1900, was duly presented to Kharshedji R. Cama on his seventieth birthday and constitutes a very remarkable tribute to the influence and appreciation of his life-work in both the eastern and western worlds.

Despite his undimmed mental activity, Cama appears about this date to have felt for the first time the burden of advancing years. Replying to a friend who had sent him congratulations on his seventy-second birthday, he remarked: 'I feel that I have arrived at the end of my tether. The children are grown up and are able to be independent of me; so I am not anxious to save up money. I have very little time to pass here. I am busy, active, thinking, working. By my present mode of life I may prolong it. I have cause indeed to be grateful to God and I own his blessings with gratitude.' These surely are the words of one who had attained complete mental tranquillity. Though his eyesight was beginning to fail, the long years had taken little toll of Cama's mental powers, had in no wise weakened his determination to work unto the end. In 1903 he played a prominent part in a controversy which centred round the fundamental question whether the religion of Zarathushtra permits the conversion to Zoroastrianism of

persons born in, and belonging to, other faiths. The matter, which arose through the conversion of a Christian lady on the occasion of her marriage according to Zoroastrian rites to a Parsi merchant of position and influence, to whom she had already been married under French law, was hotly debated by the Parsi community, the conservative and orthodox members of which stoutly opposed the admissibility of such conversions to their faith. Cama entered the lists, regardless of praise or blame, and pinned his faith to the Avesta, of which he was admittedly the ablest lay exponent. Relying on the teaching of the ancient scriptures, he boldly proclaimed that if any person from a sincere conviction of the truth of the Zoroastrian religion desired to be converted to that faith, there was no good ground for refusing to admit such a one, whether man or woman, to the fold. In delivering this message from the Parsi sacred lore, Cama was actually doing violence to his own personal views; for in his opinion it was far better for a man to cling to the religion in which he was born and imbibe its highest teaching, than to enrol himself, perhaps for material or worldly reasons, under the banner of another faith. Moreover he was opposed on general grounds to marriages between Zarthoshtis and those of another creed, believing that such marriages are productive of religious and social incompatibilities, and might, if widely practised, exercise a detrimental

effect upon the matrimonial prospects of Parsi girls. Despite these views, however, K. R. Cama took his stand upon the Avesta ; and when in due course a sub-committee, appointed to investigate the question, proposed to put almost insuperable restrictions upon conversion, he wrote a separate minute to the effect that when the sacred and ancient lore permits of receiving aliens into the Zoroastrian fold, it is a sin to place unnecessary obstacles in their way, and that so far from making the conditions of conversion restrictive, they should on the contrary be made as little onerous as possible.

Two days before his death Cama took an active part in a meeting of Parsi Justices of the Peace and stoutly opposed the appointment of a certain young Parsi as a delegate of the Parsi Matrimonial Court. He based his opposition on the ground that a young man, who was not married, could not be expected to give appropriate decisions on delicate questions of matrimonial unhappiness.

This was the last controversy affecting his own community in which K. R. Cama had occasion to intervene before his death. His last five or six years were devoted chiefly to the interests of the various institutions and societies with which he had been so long connected. He was honorary secretary of five institutions, president of three societies, president of ten educational institutions,

and trustee of four important funds, to say nothing of his masonic activities which are described hereafter. At the meetings of all these institutions he was regular and punctual in attendance, and was frequently to be seen at the various public and social gatherings which form a regular feature of Bombay life. ' He has reached the venerable age of 76 ', remarked a writer in the *Parsi Din Ain Tavarikhi Farhung* in 1907, ' yet he has preserved a physical and mental vigour that might shame any youth, and he still takes the keenest interest in public questions.' One of his last acts was to sign a requisition to the Sheriff of Bombay in 1909 to call a public meeting of Bombay's citizens, to give practical and effective expression to their feelings regarding the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal. He realized fully the national importance of the question, and when the steps to be taken to secure a powerful expression of opinion were explained to him, he exclaimed, ' Do it ! Do it ! ' with all the fervour and enthusiasm of which he was possessed.

Death came to him very suddenly on the 20th August 1909, at his residence, Mount House, Mazagon, as he was preparing to carry out his duties as an Honorary Magistrate. It was such a death as he himself would probably have desired. There was no lingering illness, no gradual decay of mental and physical powers, no peevish and disillusioned old age. One clear call came to him,

while he was still in harness, with his great intellectual faculties unimpaired; and he passed to the other side, leaving behind him a name and reputation which will last as long as India cherishes the memories of her worthiest and most devoted sons.

CHAPTER II

A GREAT MASONIC CAREER

'Man is his own star, and that soul that can
Be honest is the only perfect man.'

FLETCHER.

KHARSHEDJI RUSTAMJI CAMA'S connexion with Freemasonry in Western India dated from the year 1854, when he joined the Lodge 'Rising Star of Western India', No. 342 S.C. This Lodge commenced its career under a warrant dated 15th December 1843, and was founded specially for the admission of Indian candidates for the Craft. For some years prior to its foundation there had been a growing desire among the more advanced and enlightened Indians in the Bombay Presidency to be granted admission to the privileges of Freemasonry. One of the first of them to be initiated into the mysteries of the Craft was a Parsi, the late Manekji Kharshedji, who during a visit to Europe in 1842 was admitted to a Lodge, 'La Gloire de l'Univers', in France. Some little delay in founding an Indian Lodge was unavoidable owing to the difficulties with which the rulers of the Craft were faced in devising a scheme, which, while fulfilling the desire of Indian candidates, should safeguard the integrity of the fundamental conditions to which every candidate for initiation into English,

Rt. Wor. Bro.

KHARSHEDJI RUSTAMJI CAMA

Honorary Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Scotland; Past Grand Master Depute, Grand Lodge, All Scottish Freemasonry in India; Honorary Depute 1st Grand Principal Supreme Grand Chapter Scotland; Past Grand Superintendent, Royal Arch Masonry in India under Scotland; Past Master of Lodge 'Rising Star of Western India', No. 342, S. C.

Scottish, and Irish Freemasonry must first pledge himself. At length, however, all was satisfactorily arranged, and, on the date mentioned above, Cama's mother Lodge, 'Rising Star of Western India', was founded, thus becoming the first Indian Lodge ever established under European constitution in India, or indeed in the whole of Asia.

Ten years after its foundation, that is to say, on the 24th August 1854, K. R. Cama was balloted for and initiated into the mysteries of the Craft by Right Worshipful Brother the late Dr. M. O'Mealy. He was passed to the second degree on the 24th October of the same year, and was raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason on the 20th March 1855 by the late Right Worshipful Brother W. S. Crawford. Three months later he left India for the tour in England, to which reference has been made in the preceding chapter, where he laid the foundations of the philological and historical learning which occupied his later years. In 1860, the year following his return to Bombay and the Craft, he was elected Junior Warden, in 1861 Senior Warden, and was installed in the Eastern chair as Master for 1861–2, the ceremony being performed by the Grand Master of Western India. During his term of office ten initiations took place, all the initiates being well-known citizens of Bombay, and some of them being relatives or close personal friends of himself. Among the latter may be specially mentioned his two uncles, the

late Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I., the late Sorabji S. Bengali, C.I.E., and the late Ardeshir Framji Moos. His efficient discharge of the important duties which devolved upon him as Master of the Lodge, and his careful regard for the traditions of the office, resulted in his being re-elected Master for the following year. About this date his first wife, Bai Avabai, died, and very soon afterwards Cama was obliged to leave Bombay for a journey through India. He accordingly summoned an emergent meeting of the Lodge and requested the brethren to elect another Master. On the day of his retirement he presented the Lodge with a large folio volume of the Zend-Avesta by Professor Westergaard, which the Lodge uses to this day.

K. R. Cama's connexion with the Scottish Grand Lodge in India commenced in June 1863, when he was appointed Provincial Grand Steward of the then Provincial Grand Lodge under the Grand Lodge of Scotland. In the following year he was appointed Provincial Grand Secretary for Western India. At his investiture with the insignia of the office, a high tribute was paid to his zeal and devotion to the cause of Freemasonry, and to the amount of Masonic knowledge which he possessed. This thoroughness was typical of Cama, in whatever direction he applied his mental powers. While officiating as Grand Secretary, he was responsible for the formation of a Grand Com-

mittee designed to increase the efficiency of the Grand Lodge, and also for the compilation of a set of by-laws for the government of the Grand Lodge. The obligation under which he placed the Grand Lodge by his careful drafting of the by-laws was duly recorded in the minutes of a meeting held on the 23rd December 1865. In 1866 he was Provincial Grand Junior Warden, in 1867 Provincial Grand Senior Warden, and in 1868 Substitute Provincial Grand Master. At the meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held on the 26th June 1869, he presided as Substitute Provincial Grand Master in the chair. It was the first time that an Indian, and a Parsi, had ever presided in a Grand Lodge.

Meanwhile, the question of the admission of Hindu candidates under the Scottish banner in the Province had arisen for decision. The only applicant who gained admission to Lodge 'Rising Star' during its early years was a Jain, though many Parsis and several Muhammadans had received the benefits of full membership. About 1872 a little advance was made by admitting four Hindus in Lodge 'Cyrus'; but no rules or regulations for such admissions had been promulgated. The Provincial Grand Lodge therefore decided to appoint a sub-committee to deal with the matter and suggest the requisite formalities for the admission of Hindu candidates. Cama was appointed President of that sub-committee, and in

that capacity made proposals which were subsequently sanctioned and adopted. At the meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge on the 27th September 1873, Cama received the Installed Master's degree, which was then introduced under the Scottish Constitution. This was followed in 1875 by his appointment, jointly with Right Worshipful Brother Sir Henry Morland and Worshipful Brother Macintosh Balfour, as trustee of the General Charity Fund of the Grand Lodge, and in 1876 by his appointment as Honorary Depute Grand Master.

The value of his services to Masonry up to that date was specially recognized at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of All Scottish Freemasonry in India, when a unanimous resolution was passed in the following terms :

'That on the occasion of Right Worshipful Brother Cama retiring from the office of Substitute Grand Master, this Grand Lodge desires to record the sense of the zealous and valuable services rendered by him to Scotch Freemasonry in India, during a long term of years ; also that the same be engrossed on vellum and conveyed to him on St. Andrew's day.'

Of the nature of those services brief mention may be made. Cama occupied an outstanding position as the oldest Indian member of the Masonic brotherhood and as the recipient of the highest Masonic honours within the reach of Indian freemasons. He was the first Indian

Grand Master Depute of the Grand Lodge of All Scottish Freemasonry in India, and, during a few months' absence of the then Grand Master, the late Sir Henry Morland, he was accorded the unique honour of being placed in full charge of the Grand Lodge of India. Further, he enjoyed the unusual position of being the first Indian Grand Superintendent of Scottish Royal Arch Masonry in India, having been re-elected three times in succession at the end of the quinquennial period of office. He was the leading light of the Jamshedi Naoroz Masonic Festival Committee and delivered several learned addresses in connexion with that festival, notably one entitled ' A Discourse on the Mithraic worship and the rites and mysteries connected with it ', which he read at the Scottish Masonic Hall in Gowalia Tank Road on the 20th March 1875. This lecture was a monument of careful reasoning and laborious research. He was also the author of various pamphlets on Masonry, among them being one published in 1876, in which he explained the teaching of Freemasonry for the benefit of those who did not belong to the Craft. In his capacity of Grand Master Depute he paid official visits to many lodges outside Bombay, as for example in 1893, when he employed his spare time in lecturing on Zoroastrian religious matters at Hyderabad and Secunderabad, and in 1896 when he paid a visit to Chapter ' Faith and Charity ' at Karachi. He also

assisted at the consecration of several lodges, such as Lodge ' Coronation ' at Khandwa. The learned orations which he delivered at the obsequies of well-known brethren are still remembered by the older members of the Craft in Bombay. Amid these preoccupations and amid the demands of his busy life, his interest in his mother Lodge ' Rising Star ' never flagged. In all Masonic difficulties he was ready to help the brethren of that Lodge with his knowledge and advice; only on the rarest occasions was he absent from the standing committee meetings and the regular meetings; and when in 1893–4 this Lodge celebrated its jubilee, Cama put forth all his efforts to render the festival a success.

With such a record of faithful and exemplary service for the benefit of the Craft, it is not surprising that his fellow Masons determined to accord him some signal token of their appreciation, on the occasion of his completing fifty years of Masonic life on the 24th August 1904. Some thought of celebrating the day by a banquet; but this suggestion did not appeal to Cama. ' If indeed it be their wish to celebrate my Masonic jubilee,' he said, ' let it be carried out in such a way that all brethren may benefit equally.' The project for a banquet was therefore relinquished, and instead it was decided to pass a congratulatory resolution at a special meeting of Lodge ' Rising Star ', and to prepare and publish a ' K. R. Cama

Masonic Jubilee Volume', containing papers on Masonic subjects written by various members of the Craft. The emergent meeting of the Lodge was held on the 24th August 1904, and after an address by Right Worshipful Master Maneck R. Sethna, in which he recounted Right Worshipful Brother K. R. Cama's services, the following resolution, which was seconded by Right Worshipful Brother Darasha R. Chichgar and supported by Brother Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, was unanimously passed:

'The Lodge 'Rising Star' of Western India records its sense of gratification at the fact that one of its members, Right Worshipful Brother K. R. Cama, has this day completed the fiftieth year of his Masonic life. The Lodge congratulates itself and congratulates the Right Worshipful Brother on this auspicious occasion.

'The fact of a paying member completing his fifty years of Masonic life is an unique effort in the Masonic history of India. It is very gratifying to note that Right Worshipful Brother Cama has been an exemplary Mason, regular in his attendance, attentive to his duties, useful to the Craft in general and to this Lodge in particular, loyal in observing the virtues preached by the Craft, and zealous to uphold the prestige of Masonry as an useful institution. The Lodge is therefore proud to count a Brother like Right Worshipful Brother Cama as one of its dutiful, valued, and useful sons. It prays that the Grand Architect of the Universe may spare him long, and endow him with health of body and vigour of mind, to serve more faithfully than

ever the Craft in general, and this his Mother Lodge in particular, and to be useful to his fellow-brethren to the Honour and Glory of the Most High.'

The preparation and editing of the Masonic Jubilee Volume, which was eventually published in 1907, were entrusted to the able hands of Shams-ul-ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, a brother Mason, who has already been mentioned as the editor of the Cama Memorial Volume on Iranian subjects. The volume, which contained two fine portraits of K. R. Cama, and a photograph of the members of Lodge ' Rising Star ' in 1905, was composed of eighteen papers and articles contributed by Indian and English Freemasons, followed by appreciations of Brother Cama's services, an extract from the proceedings of the meeting of the 24th August 1904, and a letter of congratulation from the Lodge of Edinburgh.

Cama's Masonic activities were naturally confined to the Constitution to which he owed his primary allegiance: but he was well-known and highly respected among English Freemasons in Bombay. Shams-ul-ulama Jivanji J. Modi once gave his opinion that Cama's successful career as a citizen of Bombay was due to his having become a Mason at an early age, and to his having thereby imbibed the secrets of virtue and self-discipline. It is more than likely that the teachings and study of Masonry may have contributed to Cama's

undoubted eminence as a steadfast worker in the cause of social reform: but even before he was actually initiated, he had shown an aptitude for intellectual work and a desire for the promotion of knowledge among others, which were remarkable in a youth but recently released from his school and college career. Cama indeed seems to have been chosen by nature to be a guide and teacher of other men; and the high principles of Masonry served but to confirm and emphasize the simplicity of mind and self-control which were the key-notes of his natural character. Perhaps the most eloquent tribute ever paid to his career as a Mason and citizen is contained in the speech delivered by the Grand Master, Colonel Forman, at a meeting held in his memory in September 1909, by the Grand Lodge of All Scottish Freemasonry in India:

> 'Brethren,' so ran the words, 'we are met here to-night to pay the last sad office of respect to departed merit; to show, if only by our presence, that we honoured him who has been taken; to express, to those near and dear to him, our sympathy in their bereavement; and to place it upon the records of this Grand Lodge that, although a great and worthy Mason has gone to his rest and his reward, his memory, his loyalty, his example, shall not be forgotten. The life of the late R. W. Brother K. R. Cama was a singularly beautiful one, and yet in some respects lonely and pathetic. Actuated from his boyhood by high and noble ideals, he steadfastly and unfalteringly pursued them, undeterred by opposition ofttimes bitter, always begotten

of prejudice and uncharitableness. Earnestly desiring the betterment of his fellow-countrymen and especially, with a natural bias, of the Parsi community, he strove, through good and ill report, to forward it, and with what measure of success many of you here present know, and many of you may well be grateful for. Unselfish, modest, pure in heart and mind, he, by the inherent force of the faith within him, disarmed the criticism of his opponents, and in the end trod the path of life, honoured, respected, beloved. But a few short weeks ago, when occupying the throne of this Grand Lodge, I recall to memory a report at the door of the Temple. On the usual permit, 'Admit any well-known brother', the door was opened, and the venerable and familiar figure entered. Of a truth, a well-known brother. I recall further with pleasure that the G. S. D., with becoming solicitude, guided the old man as with tottering steps and blinded eyes he groped his way hesitatingly towards this dais. As I rose to help him up these steps—steps that might well be worn by his frequent foot—I little thought that it was the last time. Assuredly had I done so, this gavel would have sounded with no uncertain stroke, and Grand Lodge would have stood to order; not by command, not in obedience, not of compulsion, but even as the Princes of Israel in the days of old, with one simultaneous impulse, to render homage, willingly and wholeheartedly, to one who was well deserving of any token of respect it was within our power to accord.

'Yet why should we sorrow? He who has gone was wont to say that death was but transition, and that we should not grieve but rejoice. He spoke truth—he always did. But

though the Craft affirms, with no uncertain voice, the existence of the light beyond the valley of the shadow, the flesh is frail and the tears will flow, strive we never so earnestly to act up to our convictions. Nevertheless, if natural emotions must have vent, we will at least try and find comfort in the knowledge that he would not have wished it so, and that his blameless life was at once an incentive to emulation and an assurance that all is well with him. Brethren, words fail me: it is with difficulty that I can give even feeble expression to the thoughts which crowd in upon me and which, I know full well, are moving many of you now listening to me. As one Brother—himself well-nigh his equal in Masonic merit—remarked to me a few days ago, "He may have had his fads and foibles; we all have; but this generation of Freemasons in India will never see his equal." I agree, and so do you all: of that I am very sure. All Hail, Worthy Brother! then say I; thou hast fought the fight with honour and reputation.

'Hail and all Hail, Worthy and Worshipful Brother! Thou hast trodden the stony path with unfaltering and unwearied foot.

'Requiescas in pace! Worthy and Right Worshipful Brother! Thou hast borne the burden through the long years, humbly, earnestly, patiently.

'Requiescas in pace! Worthy and Right Worshipful Past Master! To thee are now revealed those true Masonic secrets which lie behind the Veil. On the Perfect Ashlar of thy achievement is set the Grand Master's marks of approval; and the Crown of joy and rejoicing is thy eternal reward.'

Before he left India on retirement from active service, the Grand Master, Colonel R. H. Forman, presided at another meeting in honour of K. R. Cama. On the 4th March 1911, after a meeting of the Grand Lodge, the Brethren gathered together on the ground floor of the Masonic Hall to witness the unveiling of a mural tablet erected to his memory. The cost of this tablet, as well as of a marble medallion portrait of Mr. Cama, which was subsequently affixed above it, was subscribed by the Brethren of Lodge 'Rising Star of Western India'; and a plaster replica of the medallion was made by Mr. Sorabji Warden of Bombay, and presented by him to the J. N. Petit Institute, with which Mr. Cama had so long been connected. Addressing the assembly, the Grand Master said:

> 'At the funeral service we had in honour of the memory of our late distinguished Brother, we did all we could to pay a fitting tribute of respect to departed greatness. So, therefore, it is not necessary for me now to recapitulate all that was then said. But I could not leave Bombay without asking assistance in raising a memorial to one we esteemed so greatly. The medallion by which the tablet is to be surmounted is not yet completed, so I must unveil it in its present incomplete form: but still the inscription is there, and I hope you will think with me that it fully expresses what we all feel towards the memory of one of the greatest and best Masons ever seen in India.'

The tablet, thus unveiled, bears the following inscription:

'IN MEMORIAM

Rt. Wor. Bro. and Most Excellent Companion Khurshedjee Rustomjee Cama, Honorary Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, Past Grand Master Depute, Grand Lodge A.S.F.I.; Honorary Depute 1st Grand Principal Supreme Grand Chapter Scotland; Past Grand Superintendent, Royal Arch Masonry in India under Scotland: Past Master and for 56 years an active Member of Lodge "Rising Star of Western India", No. 342, S.C. Born: November 11th, 1831. Died: August 20th, 1909.

"Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

R. I. P.'

CHAPTER III

IRANIAN RESEARCH AND PARSI REFORM

> 'One in whom persuasion and belief
> Had ripened into faith, and faith become
> A passionate intuition.'
>
> WORDSWORTH, *The Excursion.*

VALUABLE as was the part which Kharshedji Rustamji Cama played in the general educational advancement of Western India and in the sphere of Freemasonry, these activities were subordinate to the one overmastering purpose of his life, namely, the reform of the Zoroastrian religion and the religious education of the Parsis. It was the successful prosecution of this great object which gained for Cama the unique position which he held in his own community during the later years of his life; it was his passionate endeavour to uplift his co-religionists to a higher religious and social plane which earned him the unquestioning veneration of the multitude. At a very early age, when the mind of youth is usually concerned with material and mundane affairs, he had contemplated the position and future prospects of the Parsis with anxiety, and decided with unswerving instinct that social and religious reform must precede political progress, and that his own co-religionists, like other Indians, must first be emancipated from anachronistic and objectionable social customs

before they could fully enjoy such political rights as their rulers might bestow upon them. In this matter he parted company with the friend of his early years, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who relinquished the cause of social reform in order to fight for political advancement. He might have followed his lead, and perhaps have attained as noteworthy a place in politics as the former. But Cama was by instinct and inclination a religious reformer, and he was perhaps too sincere to find any lasting satisfaction in the political arena. His whole life was spent in searching for the Truth, and in carrying out on the basis of his search a stern crusade against the superstitious and unorthodox practices which had gradually been introduced into the erstwhile pure teachings of Zarathushtra, owing to the long and intimate contact of the Parsis with Hinduism and Islam. The work was very hard, and all the forces of conservatism were arrayed against Cama and his small band of fellow enthusiasts. A weaker and less sincere man might have quailed before the storm of disapproval and hostility which his teachings aroused. But Cama was possessed of intense faith and knew that his cause was just; and he fought on steadfastly and openly, until he witnessed the triumph of reason and knowledge and the disappearance of the practices which sullied the purity of the Zoroastrian faith.

The Parsi community has changed greatly since

the days when Cama, as a mere youth, commenced his work of reform. 'The first Parsis in India', writes Dosabhai F. Karaka, 'had of necessity to follow certain of the Hindu practices in order to secure the protection, assistance, and goodwill of the Hindu princes, in whose country they took refuge. Time rolled on, and succeeding generations of Parsis fell into the error of supposing that these borrowed practices were sanctioned by their own religion. "Our forefathers did so," they said, and, according to Asiatic ideas, they thought that their ancestors could do no wrong. The study of the few religious books which they had with them was not cultivated, for there were few learned men among the body. The result was that many of the usages, customs, practices, and prejudices of the Hindus were received and acted upon by the Parsis. It is thus we may explain how it was that ignorant Parsis, or their wives, used even up to twenty-five years ago (1860) to send offerings of coco-nuts to the *Holi* or cups of oil to *Hanuman*.' About 1825 the old Parsi Panchayat made some attempt to eradicate ceremonies and practices which had crept into their religion since their expatriation from Persia. But their efforts met with little success, so far as the majority of the community were concerned. It required a dead-lift effort to eradicate usages which the Parsis in India had observed for nearly twelve centuries.

A writer in the *Oriental Review* of the 25th of

August 1909 remarks that, but for Cama's heart-felt devotion to the cause of Zoroastrianism, the lower and illiterate classes of Parsis would probably have sunk still deeper in the mire of superstition and idolatry, while the upper and literate classes would have apostatized from the faith of their fathers and embraced some form of Christianity. At the date (1859) of Cama's return from Europe with the knowledge which he had acquired from the leading *savants* of that continent, the Parsis were steeped in deep ignorance of the nature, scope, and tenets of their own religion. A campaign of proselytism to Christianity had been opened among them by the famous missionary, Dr. John Wilson, about twenty years earlier, which had caused considerable excitement in the community and led many Parsis to regret their inability, through ignorance of their own religion, to combat the teaching of that learned Christian educationist. The need of religious enlightenment was imperative, if the great creed of Zoroaster was to be saved from complete disruption. At this juncture Cama appeared, prepared to devote all his energies to purifying the faith of his Persian forefathers and to bringing light to them that sat in darkness. In the prosecution of his noble mission 'he spared neither time, energy nor money, sought no rest, shirked no encounter, lost no opportunity, surmounted all difficulties, and worked on, through good and evil

report, never daunted or discouraged by opposition, never deterred by obloquy, fighting ever against the rank superstition and gross ignorance of the so-called reverend hierarchy of the Zoroastrians, and finally winning the grand title of "Le Dastur Laique" from no less distinguished a scholar than the late Professor Darmesteter'.

Cama has been well described by one who knew him intimately as a reformer of the constructive type. In the strictest sense of the word he tried to reform what he found to have become deformed; and in carrying out this principle in the sphere of religion he succeeded in saving the Parsis from disintegration. The gradual spread of Western education had aroused in that community a desire for something better than the Hinduized Zoroastrianism which had sufficed for their ancestors after their settlement in India, and that desire Cama set himself to fulfil. He achieved more than all the Dasturs and Mobeds of that day; for by expounding with scientific accuracy the ancient Iranian scriptures he proved conclusively that the faith of Zoroaster was adequate to satisfy the minds and hearts, not only of the educated and cultured, but also of the humble and lowly among his fellow men. It was a grand life-work, nobly inspired and nobly completed. The fruits of his labours are visible in the social and religious position of the Parsis of Western India to-day, as compared with their condition when Cama began

his task sixty years ago. Well might Cama, at the close of his life, have cried with the Roman poet,

> Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
> vitabit Libitinam.

The methods which Cama adopted to promote his object fall roughly into a fourfold category. His first care was the introduction of a scientific system of studying the ancient Iranian languages; and when he journeyed to Europe in the manner already described in the first chapter, in order to qualify himself to initiate and supervise such a system, he studied the methods followed by the most renowned European interpreters of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages. The study of the Zoroastrian religion, of the customs, traditions, and history of the Parsi community, and of the languages in which they are written, was originally confined to the Magi or Parsi priests. During the latter half of the eighteenth century the famous French *savant* M. Anquetil du Perron brought Zoroastrian literature to the knowledge of Western scholars, since which date the science of comparative philology has continued to throw considerable light upon the literary materials carried by Anquetil and others to Europe. The Parsi priesthood in India, however, had not kept itself abreast of the discoveries of European scholarship: few of the priests understood the liturgical works, though they were able to recite in parrot fashion such chapters as had to be repeated at religious

ceremonies; and some members of the priesthood, finding that the profession had lost importance and the respect of the general body of the laity, had betaken themselves to other occupations and trades. Cama determined to reopen the closed door and enable the priesthood to recover their lost opportunities as the true expounders of the Zoroastrian faith.

Accordingly in 1861 he opened a private class at his residence in Rampart Row to teach the Avesta and Pahlavi languages on the system of comparative philology to a small group of students belonging to the priestly class. One of the most distinguished of these, Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, who was his first pupil, has described how he obtained an introduction to K. R. Cama from Sorabji S. Bengali, C.I.E., and commenced receiving instruction in Avesta grammar twice a week. Three months later, three other young men of the sacerdotal class joined the studies. One of these three was Ervad Kavasji Edalji Kanga, afterwards Principal of the Mulla Firoz Madressa, who established his reputation as an Oriental scholar by his Gujarathi translations of the Avesta, his Avesta grammar in English, his Avesta dictionaries, and an English translation of extracts from Anquetil du Perron's narrative of his travels in India. By the end of twelve months Cama's class included more than a dozen young Parsi priests, who after mastering the Avesta

grammar were introduced to a similar course of instruction in Pahlavi grammar. 'Not content', writes Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha, 'with teaching Avesta and Pahlavi only, Mr. Cama introduced also the study of comparative grammar and of other collateral subjects from the works of Schleicher, Pictet, Spiegel, Justi, and many others. It was in fact a bi-weekly treat to the students to hear and learn something new. Of course, it was not an easy task both for the master and disciples to examine, with a view to get nearer the truth, into the old Parsi notions, opinions, doctrines, and views of history, and into their own early impressions regarding them, in the light shed by this new method of study; for they had often to change, dismiss, or improve upon many of them. The studies themselves were trying and required patience, as they were not calculated to ensure good prospects in life. Yet Mr. Cama made them so very interesting that every student who once entered his class could not but attend regularly, whatever unfavourable circumstances in life he had to contend with.' Cama treated his students as friends and brothers, assisted them with books, money, and in various other ways, recommended them to the notice of the Parsi community, and generally used every effort to advance their interests. His zeal on behalf of these students never flagged. He would break a holiday at Matheran, Mahableshwar, or Poona, in order to be

present at the meetings of the class ; and when he changed his residence from the Fort, first to Byculla and then to Walkeshwar, he actually defrayed the carriage-hire of his pupils to and from his residence.

These classes continued for about twelve years. Besides Ervad S. D. Bharucha and Ervad Kavasji E. Kanga, already mentioned, the most notable of Cama's pupils were Ervad Tehmuras Dinsha Anklesaria, formerly Sanskrit teacher at the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Madressa, Ervad Edalji Kershaspji Antia, author of *Zarthoshti Dharam Shikshak* ('Teacher of the Zoroastrian religion'), and Ervad Jamshedji Dadabhai Nadirsha. There were others also, possessed of a high reputation for learning and scientific research, who, though they were never pupils of Cama nor attended his classes, yet regarded him much in the same way as the Hindu *chela* or disciple of ancient days regarded his *Guru*. Among the latter may be mentioned in particular Ervad Bahmanji Nasarvanji Dhabar, Behramgor Tehmuras Anklesaria, and Shams-ul-ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, C.I.E., of whom the last-named paid an eloquent tribute to the influence of Cama's personality in a sketch of his religious work contributed to the *Oriental Review*. 'I have been made richer in his company,' he wrote, 'happier in his friendship. I pray to God that his *Farohar* may still be our guide, friend and philosopher.'

Before Cama opened his private class, Avesta, Pahlavi, and Persian were taught in the local Mulla Firoz Madressa; but the teaching, which was in the hands of Dasturs of the old school, was of an old type, no attention being paid to grammar and philology. The same was the case at the Sir Kavasji Jehangir Madressa in Navsari, where most of the Parsi priests resided. Cama's class was so successful that the leading men of the Parsi community began to contemplate the possibility of extending his new and more correct methods of studying their ancient and sacred languages. Their idea was confirmed by the opinion and teaching of Dr. Martin Haug, the distinguished Professor of Oriental languages at Poona, in whose honour Mr. Cama held a reception in 1861, at which the late Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Mehrji-rana rehearsed the preparatory ceremony of the 'Yazishn' for the edification of the learned doctor. Three years later, at the instance of Cama, Dr. Haug delivered a lecture on the Parsi religion and the *Gathas*, admission to which was by payment, the proceeds of the sale of tickets being ultimately given by Dr. Haug for competitive prize essays. Among the works submitted for competition were Mr. S. D. Bharucha's translation of the *Pand-Nameh* of Adarbad Marespand, which won a prize of Rs. 200, and the text and translation of the *Dadistan-i-Dinik* by Messrs. S. D. Bharucha and T. D. Anklesaria, which was awarded a prize

of Rs. 900. When Dr. Haug eventually retired from India in 1866, Cama took the lead in collecting a purse of Rs. 5,000 in recognition of his services to the cause of Zoroastrian literature, which was presented to Dr. Haug by Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai, second baronet, at a public meeting of the Parsi community on the 24th of February in that year.

As a result of the movement initiated by Cama and supported by Dr. Haug, the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Zend and Pahlavi Madressa was founded in memory of the first Parsi baronet. In this, as well as in the Mulla Firoz Madressa, Cama's pupils, who were the sons of poor priests, subsequently obtained liberal scholarships, which enabled them to continue their studies in Iranian literature, and some of them were afterwards appointed to responsible professorial posts in those institutions. Some years later a fourth Madressa, the Nasarvanji Tata Madressa, was opened at Navsari. With the management of these four institutions Cama was closely associated, and it is no exaggeration to say that their success was due largely to his unremitting zeal. The annual gatherings for the distribution of prizes at these Pahlavi and Avesta schools acquired the character of Parsi religious convocations, at which Cama either himself presided or otherwise played an active part; they gave him the opportunity of delivering eloquent and learned addresses, which gained great popularity among the intellec-

tual and advanced sections of his co-religionists. The direct result of the private classes opened by Cama, coupled with the vitality which he infused into the teaching given at the Madressas, was the appearance of a group of able scholars and commentators, competent and ready to extend and perfect the critical study of the ancient Iranian languages; while, indirectly, the publicity given to his teaching, and to the researches of those who had imbibed his methods of study, produced in the general ranks of the Parsi community a gradually increasing interest in the language of their remote ancestors and a purified conception of the scope and meaning of their ancient religion.

But the recognition by his fellow Zoroastrians of the value and importance of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages represented but a moiety of the task which Cama set out to accomplish. He fought stubbornly to secure their recognition also by the University of Bombay. The struggle, which began in the late sixties of the nineteenth century, lasted for many years and was fraught with obstacles and disappointments. But the non-fulfilment of his hopes caused Cama no dismay; the flame of his resolve burned ever more brightly. He prosecuted his object with untiring vigour, until, in 1894, complete success crowned the efforts of more than a quarter of a century. In that year the University authorities resolved to introduce the Pahlavi and Avesta languages into

their curriculum, and to accept them as subjects for the Matriculation examination ; and they paid a well-deserved tribute to Cama's long and honourable championship of those languages by electing him examiner in Avesta and Pahlavi, which had been accepted for the M.A. degree in 1887, on the proposal of Messrs. J. J. Modi and Darmesteter, and the first candidate for which appeared in 1894. Moreover, Cama's organization of the course of studies at the Mulla Firoz and Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Madressas was rightly considered to justify the further step of including those languages as an integral portion of the whole college course. In connexion with the latter decision Cama was instrumental in securing the foundation of four Avesta and Pahlavi scholarships for the Previous, Intermediate, B.A., and M.A. examinations respectively ; the first of them being given in the name of Cama's wife, Bai Aimai, the second in the name of Framji Sorabji Bhownagri, the third in that of Pherozesha M. Jijibhai, and the fourth in the name of Jamshedji N. Petit. The encouragement thus given to the study of the Iranian languages, as the result of Cama's able and prolonged support of their claims to recognition by the educational world, has borne fruit in the increased number of Parsi youths who study Avesta and Pahlavi as their second language in the collegiate course, and who may be trusted to carry forward the light

kindled by the founder of Iranian research in India.

Cama's second method of disseminating a purer knowledge of their religion among the Parsis was the foundation of a society for the promotion of Zoroastrian religious research, coupled with the offer of prizes in public competition for essays and papers on this subject. The society with which his name is inseparably connected is the *Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandali* (i. e. Society for the Promotion of Research into the Zoroastrian Religion), which he founded on the 30th March 1864 and which is still in existence. Its main object was to provide a meeting-ground at which scholars and others interested in Zoroastrian literature might exchange views on questions and problems arising out of their studies. Many Bombay students of Avesta and Pahlavi became members of the new society and derived great benefit from the discussions which were held under Cama's auspices—and more so as the Society gradually enrolled among its supporters the older Dasturs and scholars of India and several European authorities of repute. From the outset Cama sought to enlist the sympathy of the Dasturs, or priestly leaders, as is shown by an invitation which he circulated to them in March 1864, to attend a meeting of the Society in the Mulla Firoz Library, which at that date was located in Bomanji Framji Cama's house in Cama Street. The aims and objects of the

Society, for which Cama himself drew up rules and regulations, were (*a*) to examine works on Zoroastrianism, (*b*) to get essays written on them, (*c*) to discuss them, (*d*) to decide doubtful points, (*e*) to obtain and publish a correct and authoritative translation of the Avesta. Under his auspices the Society met monthly on *Roz Marespand*, the 29th day of the month, this day being sacred to *Manthra Spenta*, i.e. the Holy Word, and therefore peculiarly appropriate for inquiry into sacred lore. Cama was assiduous in securing the progress and popularity of the Society; he was a regular attendant at the meetings, and himself presented thirty-three subjects for open discussion during his active career. Among these were his paper on *Ravan* (Soul), which was discussed at twelve of the twenty-one sittings held during the first year of the Society's existence, and his essay on the disposal of the dead and *Rimani* or pollution from contact with the dead, which was presented during 1866. In 1872 he read a paper on 'The names of the Five Gahs', and in 1877 and succeeding years delivered various lectures, one of the more important of which dealt with German papers by Dr. Noldecke and Dr. Schindler on the ancient Kyanian dynasty. The Society steadily gained popularity. Up to the year 1910, just after the death of its founder, it had held altogether 486 meetings, of which 427 were devoted to religious discussion; while it had published several volumes of reports of its pro-

ceedings, which are described as a source of much knowledge. During the fifty-seven years that have elapsed since its foundation, the Society has more than once changed its place of meeting. For the first few years it met in Cama Street, moving in 1878 to the Dadysett *Atash-Behram* in Phanaswadi. A year later it moved back to Dadysett's *Dar-i-meher* in the Fort, and there held its meetings until 1900, when it assembled in the Bai Bhikaiji S. Bengali school. It has appropriately found its final meeting-place in the Oriental Institute, established in memory of its founder. Thanks to Cama's initiative, the Society soon obtained recognition from European scholars. We read in the records of Professor Justi of Berlin sending copies of four Pahlavi inscriptions for decipherment in 1872 ; of Sir Monier Williams forwarding thirteen questions on Zoroastrianism for discussion and reply in 1877 ; and of Professor Darmesteter visiting the Society and reading a paper before it in 1886. The services of its members were often sought in the preparation of memorial tablets in Avesta and Pahlavi for new Towers of Silence and Fire-temples.

While he was still employed in his uncle's firm in China, three years before his return to Bombay in 1854, certain influential and wealthy Parsis, in company with a number of young and educated men of the community, had founded the *Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha*, or Religious Reform Associa-

tion, which had for its main objects the regeneration of the social condition of the Parsis and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity. Both these objects happened to be those to which Cama had resolved to devote his life ; and he decided to utilize the *Rahnumai Sabha* as a medium for the eradication of the foreign ideas and customs which had been introduced into the religious observances of the Parsis. For many years he and his colleagues and supporters preached from its platform a purer type of Zoroastrianism, and it was under the auspices of this *Sabha* that several of his most thoughtful addresses were delivered. Cama's work, both in this direction and in connexion with the *Zarthoshti Mandali*, above described, led him to believe that a still greater effort was needed to secure the adoption by the Parsi community at large of a purer conception of their faith, and to inculcate moral ideas in the rising generation. He determined accordingly to enlarge the sphere of the *Rahnumai Sabha's* activities. Under its auspices he delivered a lecture in April 1881 on 'The present state of religious education among Zoroastrians and the need of imparting religious instruction on a sound basis'. The chair was taken by the late Mr. Naoroji Fardunji ; and as a result of Cama's eloquence, and with the approval of the chairman, the audience and others met again on five subsequent days (April 19, 27, 28, 29, 30),

and adopted a number of resolutions in furtherance of Cama's scheme.

Two of the more important resolutions were couched in the following terms:

> 'This meeting is of opinion that Zoroastrian children may have their *Navjot* performed, when they reach the age of understanding, and that it is necessary that at that time they should possess knowledge of some elements of religion.
>
> 'This meeting is of opinion that parents should give their children religious as well as secular education.'

Another resolution, the fifth, requested the *Rahnumai Sabha* to open a fund for providing religious education for Parsi children; and in obedience to this suggestion the *Sabha* commenced to give religious education in some of the Parsi schools in Bombay. The beginning thus made was regarded by Cama as merely a stepping-stone to a more intensive tuition in religious matters. Religious teaching must be neither partial nor perfunctory, but must be regarded as an integral feature of the curriculum provided for every boy and girl. On these considerations he summoned a conference of the members of the *Sabha* and others on the 15th May 1901, at the Bai Bhikaiji Bengali School, for a full discussion of the matter. A second meeting was convened seven days later, at which a committee of forty-three persons, with power to add to their number, was appointed to frame definite proposals. The committee, which

nominated Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai (4th baronet) as its chairman and Ervad Jivanji Jamshedji Modi as its secretary, decided to divide its task between three sub-committees, chosen from among its members, of which one was instructed to formulate a definite scheme of religious instruction in schools, the second was to ascertain the views and difficulties of Parsi schoolmasters in the matter of imparting religious and moral education during school hours, and the third was to consider the best means of securing the funds required to finance any scheme that might be approved and adopted. Cama himself was a member of the first two sub-committees; and, as a result of the deliberations of the three bodies, the general committee was enabled to frame and submit a report to the Conference on the 10th October 1901, recommending the formation of a 'Society for giving education in the Zoroastrian religion and for the propagation of the Zoroastrian faith', the opening of a fund for that purpose, and the provision of qualified religious teachers and the preparation of religious text-books.

The Conference considered the report of the Committee at seven sessions held between the 3rd March and the 16th June 1902. It may here be mentioned that, despite the awakening which had taken place in the Parsi community, there were still many who found themselves out of sympathy with the more advanced views held by Cama and

his school of reformers. In past years the two schools of thought had waged determined battle in the press and on the platform, and no little bitterness had marked their conflict. But by 1900 Cama had lost something of the old fighting spirit and had acquired the tolerance and tact of more mature years. When therefore he initiated this movement for the religious education of Parsi children, he invited all those who might be described as opponents to share in the discussions and give public expression to their opinions and sentiments on the subject. In at least one instance this more tolerant policy bore good fruit. The question of introducing religious songs into the syllabus of the children's education, which was recommended by the committee, was a subject of keen debate, the leader of those who opposed the proposal being Mancherji C. Mansukh, a stout conservative and an old opponent of Cama. Through the good offices of Dr. J. J. Modi a compromise on this matter was effected, and Mansukh threw himself into the movement as a coadjutor. Unfortunately he died before the scheme was placed for approval before the whole Conference, and his followers, deprived of his guidance and unwilling to accept the report of the committee in the form in which it was presented to the Conference, contrived to introduce several modifications which were accepted by that body.

This result was very disappointing to the leading progressives, like Cama, whose sole object was the moral progress of the younger generations ; but, *faute de mieux*, they decided to accept in good faith the modified recommendations and to work according to them, in the belief that these represented a distinct advance towards the ultimate welfare of the sons and daughters of the community. The question of the actual working of the modified scheme, however, gave rise to a difference of opinion, and the Conference dissolved without arriving at any final conclusion on this subject. The relinquishment of the scheme on these grounds failed to satisfy the consciences of those who had shared in the deliberations and had subscribed to the fund, and a final effort to secure some practical result was thereupon made. This resulted at length in the foundation, on the 10th July 1903, of the new Society, advocated by the committee two years before, with the general object of providing means for the spread of religious and moral education among the Parsis. From the outset the society applied itself to two important requirements: first, the preparation and supply, either free of cost or at very cheap rates, of a series of books on Zoroastrian religion and ethics ; secondly, the provision of a qualified teacher who would visit different Parsi schools, twice or three times a week, and impart the religious education which was considered necessary.

Cama was chosen a member of the managing committee of the Society and also its vice-president —an office which he held until his death. He was also a member of the book committee, which decided upon the character and scope of the text-books to be prepared for public use. A series of eight books was eventually decided upon, of which one had been published at the time of his death and others were in course of preparation. The authors of these moral text-books were Dr. J. J. Modi and Mr. Sorabji J. Bulsara, of whom the former wrote five, the latter two books, while one was written by them both in collaboration. Cama testified also to his interest in the movement by subscribing a thousand rupees to the Society's funds. Acting in his capacity as President of the *Rahnumai Sabha* and Vice-President of the new organization which grew out of it, Cama may be justly described as the pioneer of the new type of religious education among Parsi children; for until he set to work to lift the mind of his community out of its ancient groove, no endeavour on a large scale to promote the spiritual training of the younger generation had been made. For the first time in the history of the race, since its expatriation, an authentic catechism for Zoroastrian children was prepared by Dr. Modi under the guidance of a special committee and was brought into use: while, largely through Cama's influence, religious instruction on a comprehensive scale

became an integral feature of the education of Parsi children.

The practice of offering monetary rewards for competitive essays on Zoroastrian subjects appealed to Cama as one of the most useful methods of arousing interest and assisting researches in the ancient religion of the Parsis. We have seen that, while still a young man in China, he set aside sums as prizes for competition in the sphere of general knowledge, out of the modest income which he inherited from his parents, and from that date onwards he disbursed in the same way sums which amounted in the aggregate to many thousands of rupees. Among the prizes which he offered in connexion with Zoroastrian research the most notable was the sum of Rs. 800 for a Gujarathi translation of the *Vendidad*, with notes and commentary and a dictionary of all the important words occurring in it. This offer was made in 1866, prior to which date the only works of the kind available were certain ' ungrammatical, verbose, and confused ' renderings of various parts of the Avesta. The prize was awarded to Ervad Kavasji Edalji Kanga for his masterly translation, published in 1874, which, together with his translation of the *Khordeh-Avesta*, was destined to remain for many years, in the words of Dr. Haug, ' the standard translation for the use of the Parsi community '. One of Cama's latest offers was a prize of Rs. 500 in 1907 for the best essay on Sir Oliver

Lodge's *Substance of Faith*, a book which much impressed him and which he carried about for several days, to read at odd moments. It is a matter for regret that no record has been preserved of all the moneys which Cama disbursed in this manner from his own pocket; and one can only repeat the statement of Miss Manekji Cursetji in her sympathetic sketch of Mr. Cama, published in the *Oriental Review* of the 4th November 1903, that the stream of his benefactions flowed unchecked during his lifetime, and the verdict of Dosabhai F. Karaka, author of a *History of the Parsis*, that Cama 'has ever been ready with purse, mind, and body to promote the cause of religious education among the Parsis'.

The third method adopted by Cama in the pursuit of his main object was the origination of an entirely new literature in connexion with Zoroastrianism. Prior to his appearance as a critical scholar of Iranian literature, a certain number of books and periodicals on Zoroastrianism had been published in Gujarathi, and occasionally also in English. But the neglect of the critical method of translation and explanation did not render them of sufficient value from the modern point of view, and the authors of most of them were handicapped by ignorance of the close affinity existing between the language of the Avesta and classical Sanskrit. Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha had indicated a new avenue of research

by publishing in 1863 *A brief Zend grammar compared with Sanskrit*, which set the Dasturs of the old school thinking. This was the result of the immense encouragement given to the new orientation of Iranian scholarship by Cama's return from his tour of study in Europe. Cama actively encouraged the new school of research by the publication of papers, pamphlets, and books based on his own scholarly inquiries. Perhaps the best known of his works is the *Zarthosht Nameh* or *Life of Zoroaster*, which, in the words of Dosabhai F. Karaka, 'will always be a very valuable book indeed, full of original research and investigation'. Before the appearance of this work the Parsis possessed certain *Zarthosht Namehs* which purported to be merely translations of the modern Persian *Zarthosht Nameh*. In composing his work Cama went direct to original sources, chiefly the Avesta, and by the application of masterly criticism to these ancient works was enabled to establish the historical truth of Zoroaster's life and teaching. The *Zarthosht Nameh* in its present form is based upon a series of lectures which Cama delivered in Bombay and Poona during the *Muktad* holidays of 1868 on the life and teachings of Zoroaster and the Zoroastrian age. Two years previously, in 1866, he commenced to publish a valuable periodical, styled *Zarthoshti Abhyas* (*Studies in Zoroastrianism*), which discussed questions relating to the religion, history, literature,

and customs of the followers of Zoroaster. The publication continued for about four years and comprised eleven numbers which contain much valuable information, and are still referred to as authoritative whenever questions concerning the Zoroastrian religion are under discussion. In the opening number of the series Cama thus expressed the thoughts which prompted their preparation:

> 'For some years it has been the delight of my heart to acquire knowledge of the religion of Zarathushtra. . . . But were I to tarry until other writers should devote themselves wholeheartedly to this task, I fear that I should not be spared to see that day. Life is short, and vast is the work to be accomplished.'

Cama also brought the researches of European *savants* and scholars to the knowledge of his own people by translating the works of Rapp, Spiegel, Roth, and others. Among such works was a pamphlet published in 1874 on *The New Year's Day of the Ancient Persian Empire*, embodying a translation from the German of the work of Dr. A. D. Mordtmann of Constantinople. This was followed two years later by the publication in sixteen parts of Dr. Rapp's learned work on *The religion and customs of the Persians as described by classical authors*. This series was completed in 1879, in which year Cama also published a pamphlet on *The Zoroastrian mode*

of disposing of the dead from the German works of Drs. Spiegel, Duncker, Rapp, and Rhode, and another booklet on *Zoroastrian Religion as one of the sources of modern philosophy*, based upon Dr. Roth's German work on the Egyptian and Zoroastrian doctrines of Faith as the oldest sources of our speculative ideas. In 1880 the German work of Dr. Alexander Kohut supplied the basis of a fresh pamphlet entitled *The Jewish Angelogy and Demonology based upon Parsiism*; and in the same year Cama published his *Avesta and Genesis or The Relations of the Iranians to the Semites*, which he translated from the German of Dr. Fr. Spiegel. Other important publications were *A Comparison of the Laws of Ormuzd with the Laws of Jehovah*, *The Persian and the Jewish Doctrines*, *Jamshedi Naoroz*, and a remarkable work *Yazdajardi Tarikh*, to which reference will hereafter be made. Cama's qualifications, both for original research and for translating the works of others, were greater than those of any Parsi of his time; for he had studied in Europe, was conversant with six languages, eastern and western, ancient and modern, and was in constant correspondence throughout his career with the most renowned Western scholars, who often consulted him on Zoroastrian topics and problems. It is not therefore surprising that his published works bear testimony to a high mental calibre and incessant

industry. At the time of his death, the leading Anglo-Indian newspaper of Bombay, referring to his great reputation as an Orientalist, compared his position with that of Mulla Firoz (1759–1830), the learned Parsi scholar and poet of the early nineteenth century, and expressed regret that he had not devoted his energies to writing some great work of the type of Mulla Firoz's *George Nameh*, which would have carried his name down the centuries. But to Cama scholarship and learning meant little apart from their practical uses. He was first and foremost the apostle of social and religious reform, and all his mental powers were concentrated upon securing the purification of the customs and beliefs of his co-religionists. With this object ever before him, he could not resign himself to the comfortable solitude requisite for the compilation of a great treatise. He had necessarily to confine his literary activity to less pretentious, though none the less scholarly and valuable, publications, calculated to aid the spread of Iranian knowledge among his own people. Had he devoted himself solely to Oriental research, he would assuredly have left a great name among scholars; but it is open to argument whether his claims upon future generations of his countrymen would thereby have been greater than they admittedly now are. For he turned his Oriental learning and his intellectual talents to the service of a great ideal, and with

their aid instilled into the mind of the Parsis of Western India a wider and truer conception of the teaching delivered more than 3,000 years ago by the prophet Zarathushtra.

The fourth method followed by Cama to arouse the interest of his fellow Zoroastrians in their religion and past history was the constant delivery of addresses and lectures in Bombay and other towns in the Western Presidency. During the best years of his life hardly a week passed in which he failed to appear on the lecture-platform and unfold to his audience the results of his wide researches in Iranian lore. His pupil, Ervad S. D. Bharucha, dates the commencement of this side of his work in 1864, when he attended the opening of the Framji Kavasji Institute at Dhobi Talao—afterwards the home of the Native General Library—and delivered the four memorable lectures on the life of Zoroaster which have been mentioned in connexion with the work of the *Rahnumai Sabha*. Mr. Bharucha recalls the fact that this was the first occasion on which a meeting of the Parsi reform party was attended by a few of the Dasturs or high priests and some Parsi ladies. Previously, the reformers had been shunned and ostracized not only by the orthodox priesthood, but also by the rich laymen and the uneducated rank and file of the community. But the bonds of bigotry were relaxed by the spell of Cama's eloquence, and the attractive style in which he

presented his theme was responsible for the presence of priests at all four lectures. According to those who were privileged to listen to him on more than one occasion, Cama had a singular gift for public lecturing in Gujarathi, his mother-tongue; and this gift he used to the utmost in delivering hundreds of lectures to Zoroastrians of both sexes at Bombay, Poona, Navsari, Surat, Ahmadabad, Broach, and Karachi. He made a special tour in Gujarat for this purpose in 1868, soon after his famous lectures at Bombay and Poona on the life and teachings of Zoroaster: in 1869 he commenced by delivering a series of five lectures to Parsi ladies in Bombay on the religious philosophy of Zoroastrianism, then addressed audiences in various quarters of Bombay City on the subject of the *Jamshedi Naoroz*, and finally gave an admirable series of lectures on the importance of the study of the Zoroastrian religion and on 'Avan-Ardvisur' and 'Frohars', under the auspices of the *Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha* and of the Society which he had been chiefly instrumental in founding. Other meetings of a more controversial character took place in that year, to which allusion will be made in a later paragraph dealing with the Zoroastrian calendar.

In 1871 the *Dnyan Prasarak Mandali*, in the revival of which he had taken a prominent part, was able to arrange for four lectures on *Bun-i Iran danesh az zaban shanasi*, i.e. 'knowledge

about Persia from the standpoint of philology'; and these were followed by addresses on the *Gatha Gahanbar*, delivered in the principal quarters of Bombay occupied by Parsis, and on *Frohars* and *Atash*, delivered at Poona. The following year witnessed the delivery of two lectures on the *Jashn-i Adar*; in 1873 his well-known papers on the *Jamshedi Naoroz* were read before large and interested audiences; and in 1876, under the auspices of the *Rahnumai Sabha*, he gave the four lectures on 'the social and religious condition of the Parsis and the need for diffusing among them a knowledge of their religion', which may be regarded as preliminary to his platform crusade of 1881 and the movement for religious education in Parsi schools.

Meanwhile Cama's success as a lecturer on behalf of the Parsi reform party moved the orthodox and conservative section of the community to prepare a counterblast. One of their most active opponents was Mansukh, mentioned on an earlier page, who commenced in 1874 to publish the *Satya Mitra*, i.e. *The Friend of Truth*, in the columns of which he attacked with pungent ridicule the views and efforts of the *Rahnumai Sabha* and its supporters. Despite the fact that he had little or no funds behind him and that his party was not numerically strong, Mansukh achieved a certain amount of ephemeral success, which culminated in 1880 in the foundation of a society designed to oppose the

movement for reform. This opposition movement, however, never prospered greatly, for it could not withstand the stream of fresh knowledge regarding early Iranian history and custom which flowed from the researches and interpretations of Cama and his school of able and enthusiastic coadjutors. The year 1881 saw the inauguration of the movement for imparting religious education to Parsi children, and fresh lectures on important questions relating to Parsi custom and belief. Cama was indefatigable; for besides the more noteworthy public addresses, recorded above, he was constantly delivering lectures of a more private character both to associations with which he was personally connected, and to learned societies and institutions which were able to appreciate his work in the field of Oriental research.

In a sympathetic estimate of Cama's character and work, which appeared in the *Oriental Review* of the 25th August 1909, it is stated that Cama accomplished in the sphere of religion as much as the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji accomplished in the realm of politics, or Mr. Manekji Cursetji accomplished in the sphere of female education; and that the Parsis owe Cama a debt of gratitude which they can neither forget nor repay. It is certain that one section of the community, the priesthood, particularly 'la nouvelle génération', as Professor Darmesteter styled them in the *Journal des Débats*, had no stauncher friend than 'the lay Dastur';

for it is chiefly through Cama's exertions that the community can now boast of a strong body of really learned ministers of religion. Observing that the sons of Parsi priests, educated in the ancient Iranian languages and well grounded in Zoroastrian lore, were relinquishing their hereditary profession in favour of other avocations, Cama applied, in season and out of season, the weight of his powerful advocacy towards raising a large fund, to enable the community to retain these young priests as teachers and preachers, by providing them with emoluments adequate to their wants and position. His championship of the young priests' claims bore fruit in due course, as, for example, in the case of Dr. Dhala, the son of an ordinary *Mobed*, whom he had discovered and educated in India and America, partly at his own expense and partly with pecuniary help given by other Parsi gentlemen, and who, in recognition of this training, was appointed Dastur of Sind. That the Zoroastrian religion is now more generally understood by the Parsis, and has been purified from the foreign influences and superstitions which in the course of centuries had obscured its true message, is the work of Cama and the band of enthusiasts whom he himself inspired. A great work, indeed, worthy to rank with the sensational achievements of more worldly men !

Special mention may be made here of Cama's contribution towards the settlement of the vexed

question of the Parsi calendar, which is known to every Parsi as the *Kabisa* or Intercalation controversy. The Parsis of India are divided into two sects, known as the Shehenshais and Kadmis, who do not differ materially in regard to religious tenets or ceremonial, but hold divergent views as to the correct date for the computation of the era of Yazdezard, the last king of the ancient Persian monarchy. The Parsi year contains 365 days, and every month, from *Fravardin* to *Spendarmad*, contains 30 days. At the end of 360 days, five days styled *Gathas* are added to make up the required total; but five hours, forty-eight minutes, and forty-six seconds, which should rightly be included, are omitted from the reckoning. Consequently, in order to make their calendar accord with the solar year, the ancient Persians are believed, at the end of every period of 120 years, to have made the *Kabisa* or intercalation by adding an extra month. When the sovereignty of Persia passed to new dynasties, the Persian Zoroastrians appear to have discontinued the system of intercalation, possibly owing to ignorance or other causes; while the Parsis are supposed to have made one intercalation of a month during their residence in Khorasan.

Whatever be the truth, it is clear that for some centuries there has been a difference of one month in the *roz-mah* reckoning, or calendar, followed respectively by the Persian Zoroastrians and

their co-religionists in India. Among those who noticed this discrepancy was a Dastur named Jamasp, who arrived in India from Persia in 1721 or 1722. Observing that in connexion with two other controversial matters the Parsis of that date were inclined to ultra-fanaticism, he perhaps wisely refrained from directing too much attention to the difference of reckoning. He did, however, persuade Manekji Edalji, the leading Armenian broker in Surat at that date, to adopt the Kadmi or Persian calendar; and the dispute which arose in consequence of Manekji's adherence to the Persian reckoning was carried still farther by the arrival in Surat in 1736 of a *Behdin* named Jamshed, who, within the space of the next four years, contrived to win over a few Parsi priests and a certain number of the laity to the same side. His adherents openly accepted as correct the Persian calendar and styled themselves Kadmis, while the majority of the Parsis of Surat, who became known as Shehenshais ('imperial'), adhered to the established Indian reckoning. For some years this difference of view on the subject of their calendar produced no serious ill feeling or faction within the community. But in 1768 one Dhanjisha Manjisha, an influential Parsi of Surat, who favoured the Kadmi doctrine, and was determined to defeat the views of the Shehenshais, sent for a learned priest of Broach named Kavas Rustam Jalal, father of the more

famous Mulla Firoz, and deputed him at his own expense to collect in Persia any information calculated to advance the theories of the Kadmi sect.

Kavas Rustam Jalal remained for twelve years in Persia, and having made every endeavour to arrive at the truth, he returned to Surat in February 1780, bringing with him various manuscripts and declarations on the question at issue, which were eagerly discussed by the educated section of the Parsi community. Just prior to his return, his patron Dhanjisha had laid the foundation of the Kadmi sect in Bombay; and three years later (1783) Kavas Rustam Jalal was appointed chief priest of the Bombay Kadmis, but relinquished the office in 1794 in order to settle in Hyderabad, where he was treated with much respect and consideration by the Nizam. Mulla Kavas's inquiry in Persia failed to solve the problem of the calendar or to put an end to the controversy. The Kadmis persisted in computing their year fully one month in advance of the Shehenshais. Great discussions took place in Surat, Broach, and Bombay, which led to occasional displays of temper and some bloodshed in the latter part of the eighteenth century. After that there was a lull until in the year 1826 the publication by a Dastur of Broach of a Gujarathi work entitled *A historical account of the ancient leap-year of the Parsis* became the signal for a revival

of the controversy, in which practically the whole community ranged itself into opposing camps. To refute the arguments advanced by the Dastur of Broach on behalf of the Shehenshais, Mulla Firoz contributed a series of articles on behalf of the Kadmis to the *Bombay Samachar*, which had to double the number of its pages as the controversy grew warmer. The Shehenshais retorted by establishing a new organ of their own, the *Akhbar-e-Kabisa*. Pamphlets were published by both sides; the pages of the two English journals, the *Courier* and the *Bombay Gazette*, were filled with letters on the subject; and a good deal of violent writing was indulged in. Constant meetings were held, to which learned Muhammadans from Persia residing in Bombay, and others who could elucidate the matter, were invited, and many animated discussions took place. The newspaper controversy lasted for about a year and a half only; but both parties continued for some few years to issue books and leaflets in support of their contentions. It is estimated that the cost of the controversy to the Shehenshais was about Rs. 40,000, and that the Kadmis spent approximately the same sum; and although in the course of the discussion the Kadmis, who were in the minority, gained a few adherents, the question at issue was no nearer solution than when the two parties embarked upon their pamphleteering conflict. The Shehenshais still declared that the Zoroastrian

religion acknowledged intercalation and that their ancestors, while living as fugitives in Khorasan, had actually made one intercalation, but had discontinued the practice after their arrival in India ; while the Kadmis on their side denied that the Zoroastrian calendar allowed intercalation, and that any intercalation had, as a matter of fact, taken place in Khorasan, as alleged by their opponents.

Cama was born only five years after the appearance of the Broach Dastur's work, which opened the more embittered stage of the controversy, and in the days of his youth must have learned something of the question which for some time threatened the solidarity of the Parsis. Moreover he was himself a Kadmi, the Cama family having been for many years prominent members of the sect. It is only natural that in his prolonged researches into Zoroastrian lore he should have included an inquiry into the vexed question of the calendar and endeavoured to arrive at a correct solution ; and from the fact that he brought the question into the foreground in 1869, one may assume that the previous ten years had been spent in preparing his ground and formulating his theory on the basis of ancient script and other authoritative materials. The records of the *Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandali* show that in 1868 he introduced for discussion the subject of ' The division of time

among the Zoroastrians', and from that date he made the question peculiarly his own. As his work advanced, he delivered various lectures on the subject of the Zoroastrian era, which he subsequently published in book form in the year 1869: and in the same year he delivered a separate series of addresses on the *Jamshedi Naoroz*, and inaugurated five meetings at the Framji Kavasji Institute, which were open to the general public and were designed to encourage public discussion of the correct mode of calculating the Zoroastrian year. His chief opponent in argument at these meetings was the late Shapurji Hoshangji Dotiwala; and so anxious was Cama that the matter, which was closely bound up with the wider subject of Zoroastrian religious belief, should be reviewed from every point, and that the opinions of both Shehenshai and Kadmi should be equally subjected to public investigation, that he himself paid the entire expenses of the lectures delivered in the course of the discussion by his opponent.

These discussions of an intricate problem, which he personally arranged, were preliminary to his own masterly contribution to the literature of the controversy. In 1870 he published his treatise *Yezdejardi Tarikh* or 'the era of Yezdajard', which embodied the results of much profound and patient research. He therein endeavoured to show that both the Shehenshais and the Kadmis

were in error. The former were wrong in their assertion that intercalation had taken place since the fall of the ancient Persian empire; the latter were equally at fault in denying that the Parsi New Year properly commenced on the 21st March, for scrutiny of the language of the Avesta and the researches of European scholars in the numismatics of ancient Persia prove clearly that intercalation was acknowledged by the Zoroastrian religion. On the other hand, the statement of the Kadmis, supported by the date current among the modern Persian Zoroastrians, that no intercalation took place after the empire passed into Moslem keeping, is correct, though they were wrong in supposing that intercalation is not enjoined by the Zoroastrian religion. The line of argument followed by Cama has been succinctly stated as follows by Dosabhai F. Karaka, in his *History of the Parsis*:

> 'The Gahambars of the Parsis are festivals denoting the several seasons of the year, and if the Parsi year began on the day stated, viz. March 21st, the festivals would take place in the proper seasons instead of their recurring, as they do at present, out of their seasons, owing to the intercalation not having been enforced during the last thirteen hundred years. The fact is that there was no continuous era in Persia. Every King calculated his own era from the day of his accession to the throne, but with this provision, that if he ascended the throne before the 21st day of March—the commencement of the solar year—the first year

> of his reign should be said to have ended on that day. Thus if a King was crowned on the 1st day of January, or on any other subsequent day before the 21st of March, the second year of his reign would be reckoned from the latter date. Yazdezard Sheryar ascended the throne on the first day of the Fravardin month, which corresponds with the 16th of June, A. D. 632. The second year of his reign commenced according to practice on the 21st March, A. D. 633. But as a matter of fact the Parsi year commences at present, and has done so for as far back as memory goes, from Roz Ahura Mazda Mah Fravardin, which corresponds with the 19th August of the Kadmis and the 19th September of the Shehanshais. If regular intercalations had taken place after Yazdezard up to the present day, it is computed that the Parsi New Year would have corresponded with the solar year which commences on the 21st day of March, a day still celebrated with great pomp in Persia by both Mahommedans and Zoroastrians.'

Cama's conclusions, which were based upon accurate considerations of philology, mathematics. geography, astronomy, and history, provided a very clear solution of the vexed problem of the Parsi calendar. But old prejudices were difficult to eradicate; and although heated controversy on the matter had entirely disappeared, the explanation offered by Cama was not accepted by the whole Parsi community, and the computation of the calendar still remained the subject of academic discussion and speculation. Cama, however, was in no wise discouraged by the fact that his views

were not immediately accepted: and continued to use the public platform for the ventilation of the subject. In 1873 he again delivered a set of lectures on the *Jamshedi Naoroz*, and in the following year published the translation, already mentioned, of Dr. Mordtmann's work on the New Year's day of the ancient Persian empire. Convinced as he was that his researches provided the key to the problem, he urged continually the acceptance of March 21st as the correct date of the year's commencement, and obtained a partial success in 1882, when as the result of another lecture on *Jamshedi Naoroz* delivered before the *Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha*, that body adopted a formal resolution accepting his view. Many of his co-religionists, however, were still unconvinced, and discussion continued unabated during the next twelve or thirteen years. At length in 1895 Cama's efforts had so far impressed the higher intelligence of the Parsi community that a special 'Naoroz Committee' was formed for the express purpose of determining once and for all the true commencement of the Zoroastrian year. Cama himself was elected vice-president of this committee, and signalized the commencement of its labours by giving a remarkable series of lectures in various quarters of Bombay and at Surat, Broach, and Poona on the Zoroastrian method of calculating the year.

The committee discussed the question at issue

for seven years, holding on the average sixteen meetings a year, and eventually submitted its report in 1903. Even this report did not command wholesale acceptance, and it was left to Cama to organize weekly meetings in support of his method of calculating the calendar, and finally, within a year or two of his death, to establish a new society, the *Fasli Jasan Mandal*, with the object of securing general approval of his views. His argument, in brief, was that of all the names for the twelve months, *Deh*, which is at present the tenth month, was the only one to which the prefix *Datusho* or *Dadar Ahura Mazda* was attached, in token that it was dedicated to the Creator, and therefore that it ought to be regarded as the first month of the year, marking the commencement of the Spring and fixing the 21st March as the true New Year's day. Later, in view of the difficulties inherent in any radical alteration of the existing practices, he so far waived his own convictions as to leave to others, who disagreed with him, the option of commencing the year either with the month *Fravardin* or with the month *Deh*, provided that the *Jasans* or celebrations of the seasons were properly performed on the due dates. Cama unfortunately did not live to see the final acceptance of his method of calculating the leap year. But the settlement of this point, whenever it occurs, will be largely due to his research work and propaganda ; and if the other deficiencies and

difficulties of the Zoroastrian calendar are ever swept away entirely, the credit for initiating the reform must always rest mainly with Cama, who was the first scholar in India to investigate the problem thoroughly and indicate the broad lines on which alteration of the reckoning should proceed.

Cama's attitude on the subject of the *Bajrozgar* or *Muktad* ceremonies, which agitated the mind of the Parsi community in 1897, was typical of the spirit which guided his handling of reforms. As Shams-ul-ulama J. J. Modi once wrote, his idea of reform consisted not in abolishing entirely institutions and customs in which foreign elements repugnant to civilized minds had been absorbed, but in correcting deformities and undesirable accretions which mar the original and basic value of such customs. The last ten days of the Parsi year are specially dedicated to the memory of the dead, and ceremonies known as *Fravardigan* or *Muktad* are then performed in their honour. The custom is based upon the thirteenth section of the *Fravardin Yasht* which lays down that the souls of the departed desire to be remembered during these days by those whom they lived with and left behind in this world. In 1897 the performance of these ceremonies formed the subject of a suit in the High Court of Bombay, which laid down that a Trust for the performance of these *Bajrozgar* ceremonies, being in the nature

of a perpetual trust, was not valid at law. The whole question of the meaning and character of the custom was debated and discussed in Parsi circles in consequence of this legal ruling. In that discussion Cama naturally took a prominent part. While deprecating the ideas current among the conservative and orthodox section of the community in regard to the ceremonies, for example, the notion that the actual *performance* of them elevated the status of the dead in the next world, and while advocating also a drastic reform in the cost of the ceremonies, he nevertheless maintained that the custom, as originally conceived and instituted, was eminently worthy of support. For the ceremonies, in his opinion, were intended ' to preserve a pious remembrance of the dead, to give an expression to the love, affection and gratitude of the living towards the dead, and to teach lessons of morality to the living'.

The ruling of the High Court was calculated to undermine seriously the importance and popularity of the ceremonies; and the Parsis therefore decided after discussion to submit a memorial to the Government of India, requesting them to grant relief by special legislation. A public meeting of the community was held in Bombay on the 4th July 1897, to confirm the steps to be taken; and Cama moved the first resolution on the agenda, which requested the intervention of the Indian legislature. Of the probable success of

this proposal he was far from confident, and he did not anticipate any assistance from the Government of India on the suggested lines. At the same time, he explained, he believed in the principle underlying the ceremonies and he favoured the observance of the ancient Avestic injunction, which, if shorn of modern additions and excrescences, might reasonably claim the countenance and support of the Government. Many of Cama's friends were strongly of his opinion that the performance of the ceremonies entailed wholly unnecessary expenditure and was frequently marred by misguided ideas, and for these reasons they held it both impolitic to ask for and ridiculous to expect official support of the time-honoured practice. It was in this respect that they differed from Cama, who, though quite as much opposed to extravagance and superstitious error as they were, was prepared to differentiate between the original custom and its later excrescences, and seek for the former such protection as might be forthcoming both within and without the Zoroastrian community. The memorial of which Cama was one of the signatories achieved, as he expected, no practical result, and the matter remained *in statu quo* until 1908, when the principle which he advocated received a welcome but wholly unexpected vindication. In that year another suit was brought before the Bombay High Court, which raised once again the question as to what

should be the rationalist attitude towards charitable endowments in general and those directed by religious propaganda in particular. The case was heard by the late Justice Sir Dinshaw Davar, who after a lengthy inquiry decided, contrary to certain previous decisions in the Indian courts, that a bequest for the purpose of performing certain Parsi ceremonies, called *Muktad* ceremonies, was a good charitable bequest and therefore not void on the ground of perpetuity. Thus Cama's opinion at length won authoritative recognition—a further example, if indeed it were needed, of his ability to guide his community aright in matters appertaining to religious ritual and social custom.

Here then the story of Cama's work as a scholar of Iranian literature and a pioneer of Parsi reform may fittingly conclude. At the time of his death he occupied a wholly unique place in his community in respect of scholarship and communal service. There were many who disagreed with his views and dissented from his philosophic speculations: there were others who declared that his practice did not invariably conform to his theories. But the most critical among them never denied his possession of 'the moral courage of a true Zoroastrian and the faith of a true apostle'. Popular applause meant nothing to him, and he scorned to dissipate his energy in courting it. Likewise the open hostility of those who opposed his views caused him no dismay or bitterness. When the

storm of opposition to his reform proposals was at its height, he stood upon the platform unmoved by the shouting and hissing of his adversaries, in the firm conviction that he would in the end win the struggle, as indeed he did. 'He worked to the end of his days', said a writer in the *Indian Spectator*, 'for what he conceived to be right, refusing to acknowledge a defeat or to be elated by a triumph. In his case the mind seemed literally to triumph over the body.' His work lives after him. He was a pioneer in the field of Avesta and Pahlavi research, a patron of two generations of students of those languages. A close and critical worker himself, he held out the hand of fellowship to all engaged in conscientious work: he was among the first to encourage the education of Parsi girls, the first of Parsi Freemasons and reformers. His selfless labours and achievements will live long in the memory of the Zoroastrians of Western India, whose religion he endeavoured to restore in its pristine purity and whose social progress he so fervently promoted.

CHAPTER IV

THE LESSON OF CAMA'S LIFE: THE K. R. CAMA MEMORIAL

'So his life has flowed
From its mysterious urn a sacred stream,
In whose calm depth the beautiful and pure
Alone are mirror'd; which though shapes of ill
May hover round its surface, glides in light
And takes no shadow from them.'

TALFOURD, *Ion*.

'ONE comfort', remarks Carlyle in his *Lectures on Heroes*, 'is that Great Men, taken up in any way, are profitable company. We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man, without gaining something by him. He is the living light-fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near. The light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world; and this not as a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary shining by the gift of Heaven; a flowing light-fountain, as I say, of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness; in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them. On any terms whatsoever you will not grudge to wander in such neighbourhood for a while.'

These words, so profoundly true, may well serve to justify the addition of a final chapter embodying a few details of Cama's home-life and a brief

analysis of his character. For Cama was in many respects a Great Man, and such personal reminiscences as have survived the passage of time prove clearly that to those who knew him intimately, or who studied with him, he was in truth 'the living light-fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near'. 'Your life', wrote Dr. Jivanji J. Modi in 1898, 'as a citizen and as a Zoroastrian has taught me a good deal. In it I have seen much worth imitating.' Mark, too, the words of his distinguished pupil, Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha: 'His untiring industry and perseverance, steadfast adherence to the cause of the diffusion of knowledge, and complete self-abnegation, have always tended to arouse admiration and engender high and ennobling ideas in the writer as well as in his other disciples. The more they came in contact with him, the greater grew their respect and love for him.' Sincere tributes are these to a great soul, from those who knew him in the days of his vigorous manhood. Surely one will not grudge, in Carlyle's phrase, to wander a little longer in such neighbourhood.

Kharshedji R. Cama was born in 1831 in Cama Street, one of the old streets of the Fort running parallel with Church Gate Street, and during his earlier years is believed to have resided in Rampart Row. It was here that he commenced giving private tuition in the Iranian languages, after his return from Europe at the close of 1859. Thence

he moved to Cama House, opposite the shop of Messrs. Kemp and Co., on Cumballa Hill, which was afterwards occupied for many years by the late Colonel Freeman; and this in due course he relinquished for a house on Nepean Sea Road, near its junction with Wilderness Road. His final move was to the well-known Mount House, Mazagon, which he occupied until his death. It was in Rampart Row, while the old walls of the Fort were still standing, that he lived with his first wife, Bai Avabai, daughter of his uncle Dosabhoy, to whom, as has been mentioned, he was married in his childhood. Bai Avabai bore him two sons, of whom the elder, Rustom, became a successful solicitor, a fellow of the Bombay University and a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and the younger, Jehangir, is a barrister. For about two years after Bai Avabai's untimely death in 1863, Cama remained a widower, and then married his second wife, Bai Aimai, daughter of a former Judge of the Bombay Small Causes Court, who proved a real helpmate to him until her death in 1895. Bai Aimai was the mother of three sons, Soshyan, Surrosh, and Spitama, and four daughters Praochisti, Freani, Threati, and Ashis. Of the sons, Surrosh died in England in 1908, and the other two, who passed through the Bombay University Course, conduct the firm of Surrosh K. R. Cama and Co., with its head-office in the City of London. Cama's daughters turned to

good account the education which he gave them; for Praochisti is an artist, Freani studied medicine and became an L.M. and S. of Bombay, an L.R.C.P. of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and an M.D. of Brussels; while the other two are both undergraduates of the Bombay University.

Towards his children Cama entertained a high ideal of a father's duty. In training their youthful minds at home he believed in the power of affection rather than fear, and holding debt to be almost a greater sin than falsehood, he determined that each of his children should be taught a profession or handicraft which would suffice to save them from the burden of idleness and debt in later years. He had no sympathy with the domineering type of parent, who, in his own words, often 'makes bad worse': he set greater store by forbearance, tolerance, and a tranquil appeal to the better elements in a child's nature. And once his children had grown to manhood or womanhood, he eschewed all petty interference with their lives, leaving them free to use as best they might the instruction and education which he had provided. Cama indeed strove, in the case of his children, to translate into practice his own views on the quality and objects of education. If man, during his brief sojourn in this world, is to be fitted to do good works in the sight of Ahuramazda, two conditions—purity of mind and freedom from the cares that poverty brings—are essential; and the

education offered to him must therefore be such as to elevate him spiritually and ensure for him a modest livelihood. Cama's children, therefore, were all given instruction in some profession or art, to ensure their material welfare and to supplement the moral training which they received from their parents. That the sons should have been given a college education and training in law or commerce may appear to some of us to-day as nothing very remarkable; but if one remembers that the education of Parsi girls was one of the chief subjects of controversy in the middle of the nineteenth century, and that twenty years or more later the need of it was by no means universally recognized in Western India, one can appreciate Cama's determination to give his daughters the most useful education possible at that date, and thus to offer to the public a practical proof of his belief in the doctrine of social reform. In the moral sphere he omitted nothing which might tend to the uplift of their minds, as for example music, which he regarded as offering a powerful appeal to the devotional side of human nature. Each of his children was given tuition in music, according to their respective talents; and Cama was never tired of urging that the prayers and *gathas* of the Zoroastrian ritual should for this reason be sung and not recited. His conviction of the vital importance of female education as a factor in the social progress and welfare of

a community was the cause of his long and honourable connexion with the Parsi Girls' Schools Association, of the managing committee of which he was chairman until his death. Those schools, as has been remarked on an earlier page, owe much of their success to his active care and interest, particularly in regard to the Kindergarten system which was introduced by the late Mr. Darasha R. Chichgar, the secretary of the association.

Cama was throughout his life a student of the true type—one with an inherent passion for learning, striving ever for fresh knowledge, and able to teach accurately to others the lessons drawn from his own continuous studies. The story of how, at an age when most young men of more or less independent means are apt to indulge in more material recreations, Cama set himself to lay the foundation of his subsequent reputation as an Iranian scholar, has been told in an earlier chapter. His lifelong study of Avesta and Pahlavi imposed no limit upon his power of intellectual application and mental versatility. Thus he set himself to study Art, and became known in later years as a connoisseur of paintings in oils and water-colour. The Bombay Art Society numbered him among its life-members. Music also he understood and loved; he was well versed in science, particularly in astronomy, chemistry, and botany; and he knew much about horticulture. Only eight years before his death, when his eyes were

growing dim and needed rest, he walked every morning to the Victoria Gardens to revive his knowledge of botany with the help of the Superintendent, Mr. Kavasji D. Mahalakshmiwala. During the busiest period of his life, he found time to help in the selection of plays intended for performance on the Gujarathi stage, and gave advice on the scenery and dresses required for dramas with a Persian setting. His capacity for study was enormous, and though he was conversant with Gujarathi, Marathi, Persian, English, French, German, Pahlavi, Avesta, and knew something of Sanskrit and Latin, yet he was not ashamed to form one of the audience composed wholly of schoolboys, which used to gather on Sunday mornings at the *Prarthana Samaj* hall, to hear lectures on Tennyson's *In Memoriam* and other poetical classics. The afternoons of the same day witnessed his unfailing attendance at the meetings of the Gatha Society of young Avesta graduates and students in Dadysett's *agiari*.

Cama ever sought to uphold the truth of one of his favourite proverbs, 'It is never too late to learn.' His day was devoted to learning, and never a moment was wasted. Even the minutes spent in journeys by carriage or tram were occupied in reading. And with all his search for fresh knowledge, he remained from first to last an accurate and careful thinker. 'He went to the first principles of every subject which he handled,' writes one

who knew him well, 'and anything that he asserted, he never left unproved. Every word uttered by him was suggestive of some useful inquiry or fresh thought. Most noticeable indeed were his mental powers, his retentive memory, and his lucid method of imparting ideas to others.' This devotion to study went hand-in-hand with a phenomenal energy. No man could have worked harder than Cama did ; from the hour of his rising, usually 4.30 a.m., until he sought his night's rest at 10 p.m., his time was fully occupied. 'It is better to wear away than waste away', he replied to one who inquired why he did not allow himself more leisure. And thus he went serenely forward until the end. Only three days before his death he had the energy to deliver an eloquent address to a meeting of Parsi Justices of the Peace in support of the candidature of Mr. S. E. Warden as a delegate of the Parsi Chief Matrimonial Court ; and at the very moment of his death he was preparing to leave his house for the Honorary Presidency Magistrates' bench, upon which he sat regularly for several years. His mental vitality outwore his physical strength ; and he passed away in the midst of the performance of duties which the average man of his years would long before have relinquished on the plea of advancing age.

Shams-ul-ulama J. J. Modi, writing in 1900, remarked that of those who could safely take as

their motto the words *Laborare est orare*, Cama was certainly one of the foremost. Few Parsis of his day worked as steadily, energetically, and cheerfully from morn to eve, from year's end to year's end. After his early years he rarely left Bombay, and then only for some purpose connected with the public good; and his attendance at social gatherings was frequently made the occasion for ventilating new ideas or discussing new schemes for the welfare of one of the many institutions and societies in which he was interested. Dr. Modi and others lay stress upon Cama's thoroughness in all that he undertook, which enabled him to extract a high standard from those with whom he was associated. One of the teachers at a school once approached him with a request for an increment to his salary. 'Prove to me first that you have earned it,' replied Cama, 'and then I will consider the matter.' His belief in work as the sovereign road to godliness is curiously reminiscent of the favourite maxim of the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka, 'Let small and great exert themselves'; and just as the latter never tired of teaching through his Rock Edicts the need for continual self-sustained exertion in order to attain the highest moral level, so Cama by example and precept strove to inculcate the necessity of personal exertion and effort in every walk of life.

Cama's daily routine was in keeping with his principles. He rose between 4 and 4.30 a.m., 'an

unearthly hour', as his friends described it, had a cold bath, followed by dumb-bell exercise for an hour, and then, after swallowing a cup of cocoa and a couple of raw eggs, set out for a walk. For several years, as mentioned in the first chapter, he used to visit Colaba, in connexion with the Colaba Mill Company's business, of which he was managing secretary and a director: and when he eventually relinquished those duties, he made a practice of visiting the J. N. Petit Library in the Fort, in order to read the current newspapers and periodicals. Here also he maintained a sort of informal office, in which he worked, interviewed those who wished to consult him, gave advice, settled differences, and frequently disbursed money in charity. Even on the wettest and most uncomfortable days of the monsoon he would appear at the library for the daily routine, so that people who needed his advice might be spared the journey to his home in Mazagon. At 11 a.m. he would return home, take a substantial mid-day meal, and after a brief rest read until 3 p.m. From that hour until 7.30 p.m. he was abroad once more, attending the many meetings of committees and Societies which profited from his knowledge and advice. After a frugal dinner at 8 p.m. he would listen to the chatter of his children and their friends until 10 p.m., when he retired to rest. Such was his daily programme, carried out with clock-work regularity from year to year. That he

attended social gatherings and was not averse from society is certain, albeit few details of this side of his life have survived. He is described as having for several years maintained at such functions a certain aloofness and taciturnity, which seemed to belie the fact that he cared to meet his fellow men. But this reserve gradually disappeared, and in the later years of his life he spoke more freely, visited his friends more frequently, and generally adapted himself more readily to the spirit of social reunion. One catches a fleeting glimpse of him in the costume of the Persian King Darius, at a fancy dress ball given by Mr. Tucker, a Judge of the Bombay High Court, and his wife, at Petit Hall in 1870. With his fine profile and upright carriage he must have been a commanding figure among the revellers.

Though born of a family which for several generations had followed commercial pursuits, and himself apprenticed at an early age to a business career, Cama was curiously free from the *auri sacra fames*, condemned by the Roman poet. Born and bred in comfortable circumstances he could, had he so chosen, have led a life of ease or spent it in the pursuit of wealth, rank, and material luxuries. But he preferred to devote his talents to the service of science, and was satisfied with an income which would suffice to secure his simple standard of living, to do his duty by his wife and children, and to admit of charitable assistance to

others. He sought no reward for his services in this world, and the self-advertisement which sometimes accompanies the practice of virtue and charity was utterly foreign to his nature. When his uncle, Pestonji Hormasji Cama, made him a free gift of Rs. 25,000, Cama utilized the money in assisting the students who came to him for tuition. It was also largely owing to his persuasion and that of Mr. Sorabji S. Bengali that his uncle provided the sum required to endow the well-known hospital for women and children which bears his name.

Cama's natural disdain for money, except as a factor in securing bodily and mental health, doubtless underlay his abhorrence of gambling. Gambling, he declared, is evil, because it diverts the mind from steady work; secondly, because the winnings of the gambler are often accompanied by the curses of the loser; thirdly, because money so earned comes not through solid effort and is usually spent on evil pleasures. It must be remembered that Cama was in Bombay during the feverish years of the American Civil War, and was thus an eyewitness of the appalling disasters wrought by unbridled gambling. To a man of his type the Share Mania must have seemed the veriest nightmare; and though he himself shunned it, as if it were the direct product of the Powers of Darkness, its disastrous effects obtruded themselves upon his notice and confirmed his hostility towards all forms of speculative money-making.

Raffles and lotteries he disliked equally, holding that no individual has any right to money or prizes thus gained at others' expense, and that small sums honestly earned by a man's own steady work and thrift are more creditable, and in the end bring far greater benefit to society, than the sensational gains of the speculator. Thus, too, in the matter of horse-racing Cama declined flatly to countenance the view that it should be supported, as being the best means of maintaining or improving the breeding of good horses. As a devout Zoroastrian he was aware that the breeding of good cattle, good horses, indeed of all domestic animals, is one of the duties imposed by their scriptures upon the followers of Zarathushtra. But the periodical horse-show, not the race-course, was, in his opinion, the best means of securing the object indicated, and whatever advantage the race-course might offer in this direction was more than counterbalanced by the unrestrained gambling which disfigures horse-racing. The breeding of fine horses under the archangel Behman's inspiration was something very different from the support of the race-course with its crowds of feverish gamblers, and its incitements of the worst side of human nature. Sport and recreation, according to Cama, should play a recognized part in daily life; but they must be such as conduce to health and do no harm to the body, mind, or soul.

Sobriety and abstemiousness, which probably contributed largely to the unusual vigour of his mental powers in old age, were united in Cama with steady thrift. There was no particular reason why he should have saved money, once his children were amply provided for. Yet he did save expenses, as part of the disciplinary régime which he had imposed upon himself; and the general public were thereby the gainers. For by far the larger portion of the money thus saved was devoted by Cama to charitable institutions or to individuals in need. Educational institutions in particular profited by his generosity. His private charities were conducted quietly and unostentatiously; no one, except the recipients, was aware to whom he gave, nor what was the extent of his help; and it was not till after his death that any information was forthcoming of the large number of students whom he assisted with donations of money and books. Many a poor schoolboy and collegian owed his chance of completing his education to Cama's secret generosity. To indiscreet charity he was stoutly opposed, and to the idle he showed no consideration; for he based his charity on the ancient Zoroastrian injunction, 'He adores God most fittingly, who employs or finds employers for the needy.' Work, honest work in the sight of Ahuramazda was for him the solvent of all evil; and any man or woman who fulfilled the conditions of the true worker was accounted

worthy, if the need arose, to benefit from the store of surplus money accumulated by great simplicity of living and rigid self-denial of luxuries.

'Every man', wrote Sir Thomas Browne, 'acts truly so long as he acts his nature or some way makes good the faculties in himself.' Cama's salient characteristic was his sincerity of thought and action: he 'acted his nature'. In his early days this sincerity was responsible for a certain inability to react to public opinion, for a dogged tenacity and disregard of criticism. The *Rast Goftar* was the instrument of his attack upon conservative orthodoxy, and in its columns he preached boldly against certain social and religious customs, which appeared to him and his party to be foreign to Zoroastrian lore. The standard of Indian journalism in those days was not very high, and Cama's call for reform in this direction was subjected to a volume of abuse and vituperation which might shock modern readers. The chief antagonist of the reform school was Naoroji Chandaru, editor of the *Chabook*, who attacked the *Rast Goftar* in vitriolic language, opposed the translation of the Parsi sacred books into Gujarathi, and voiced angrily the views of those who opposed Western education, and particularly the education of women. The editor, however, died about the date when Cama returned from his European tour, and left the cause of orthodoxy in charge of others, who, though perhaps indulging in less violent

attacks in print, showed publicly an equally unaccommodating spirit. The *Rast Goftar* was imbued with the spirit of iconoclastic zeal, and showed no signs of concession to the views of its opponents. Cama himself, however, adopted a far less militant attitude in the platform campaign which he subsequently developed and carried on for so many years. One of his contemporaries records with admiration the forbearance and tolerance which he exhibited towards his opponents. He never lost his temper, not even when the more fanatical section of them subjected him to undeserved annoyance and personal insult. He would reason with them, argue with them, and endeavour to persuade them of the truth as he understood it—modelling his message upon the words of Zarathushtra, when he preached his great faith, ' Hear with your own ears the best of words that I tell you. Think over the matter for yourselves with an open mind and make your choice.' At some of the public meetings held by the *Dnyan Prasarak Mandali* during the later years of the last century, the opponents of reform deliberately levelled insults, marked by gross ill taste, against Cama and his supporters, nor forbore from encouraging immature schoolboys in the audience to follow their lead. So objectionable were the tactics adopted that the committee of the *Mandali* proposed to prohibit schoolboys under a certain age from attending the lectures. But Cama,

convinced that reason and truth would triumph in the end, would not agree to this proposal. 'These societies', he remarked, 'are intended to impart knowledge to our boys and young men. What matters it if they become a little unmannerly and annoy and insult us? Let us not deprive them of the education which is intended for their benefit and of the advantage of learning good manners and habits of forbearance and forgiveness from association with ourselves.' Towards individual opponents Cama displayed the same spirit of tolerance. Ideas of revenge, exhibitions of discourtesy, were alike foreign to his nature. Not infrequently he would seek out those who differed from him in their own homes, and there discuss with them quietly and dispassionately the various points at issue. On one occasion, chronicled by Shams-ul-ulama J. J. Modi, he offered to lecture from the platform of a Society which had frequently opposed his views, and in doing so had indulged in a good deal of acid criticism and unfair misrepresentation. His friends tried to dissuade him, pointing out that his appearance in a circle which had treated his efforts with so little respect would be derogatory to his dignity. Cama admitted that in most matters the Society was diametrically opposed to him; but considered that on the subject which he had chosen for his lecture, 'The rules of cleanliness advocated by the Avesta and their power to protect men from plague', there

could not be any conflict of ideas, as it had a direct bearing upon the public welfare; and, despite misrepresentation in the past, he saw no reason why he should exclude the Society from the orbit of his addresses on a matter which had acquired an unusual and melancholy importance from the disastrous outbreak of plague in 1896.

Cama was so convinced of the truth of his own views on the subject of religious and social reform that he was content to leave their general acceptance to time. This self-reliance in the sphere of dogma and custom arose from his habit of protracted thought before arriving at a conclusion on any subject. Every doubtful point, every question affecting his co-religionists and their faith, was subjected by him to close analysis and scrutiny; and consequently, when he did form a final opinion, he felt morally convinced that it was correct, and left no stone unturned to secure its approval by others. It was this confidence in the integrity of his own reasoning which gave him an assurance of ultimate victory, and enabled him to stand like a rock, foursquare to all the winds of carping and malicious criticism. Johann Kepler cherished the same quiet confidence about his tremendous discovery of the laws of planetary motion. 'You do not understand it; you are not like to understand it for a long while. Never mind. If God Almighty waited six thousand years for one to see what He had made, cannot I wait

a century or two for one to understand what I have done?' So Cama, fighting amid difficulty and disappointment to restore the pristine purity of the Zoroastrian creed, was content to await the verdict of a later generation upon his life-work.

Of Cama's personal religious beliefs it is difficult for any one but a very intimate friend to speak with accuracy. Fortunately the veil, which necessarily hides a man's most solemn thoughts from the public, has in this instance been lifted by a sympathetic observer of his own race and permits a closer view than were otherwise possible. Cama believed that the religion of Zarathushtra was incomparably the best of all religions; that other religions had borrowed from it; that it was an eminently natural and reasonable faith, inculcating the doctrine that the First Cause is a holy spirit which can be approached by means of perfect holiness and purity. Of the many names and epithets of God, Cama had a preference for that which styles him the Inspirer of Holiness, inasmuch as he grants directly to men the supreme blessing of purity of thought (*humata*), which in turn begets pure words (*hukhta*) and pure deeds (*huvarshta*). Material blessings he regarded as not coming directly from Ahuramazda, but as resulting indirectly from the wise use and application of His immutable natural laws. He was convinced that it was within the power of man so to foster and direct his spiritual nature as ultimately to reach

the condition in which he could ' know God, own Him, and be in union with Him '. Spento Mainyush, or godly inspiration, Cama regarded as the manifestation of the holy spirit, and Angro Mainyush, or the destructive spirit, as the evil consequences which arise from the rejection or neglect of Spento Mainyush. These evils—the manifestation of Angro Mainyush—can be checked and remedied only by the help of Spento Mainyush, the inspiration of the One Omniscient and Omnipotent God, Ahuramazda. By the grace of Spento Mainyush the heart of every man can become the abiding-place of Mazda. Cama set more store by meditation than by prayer, for he felt that no amount of prayer can alter the pre-ordained course of nature. Yet earnest prayer might, he admitted, help one to acquire the wisdom to remedy error and banish evil. Death and disease were not the creations of Ahuramazda, but the consequences of evils committed by ourselves and our forefathers, and to help us to prevent or remedy disease and to ward off untimely death, Ahuramazda has mercifully created three great powers—Air, Water, and Sunshine. By his law nothing absolutely perishes : it merely undergoes transformation. Thus, in the case of man, there is change from infancy to childhood, youth, maturity, and lastly to old age ; and when death comes, the body reverts to the ground to aid in the germination of fresh life, while the disembodied soul finds

its heaven or hell in rejoicing over the good or sorrowing over the evil which it has done during its sojourn upon earth.

There was something of the monk in Cama. One may recall his visit to the Chartreuse monastery in his youth, to learn how the inmates of that famous religious institution lived and prepared their souls for a future state. He may have imbibed something of the tranquillity and self-discipline of those monastic lives, for throughout his career and in the midst of his work, and the controversies which that work engendered, he preserved the calm demeanour of one whose spirit was in unison with the spirit of Mazda. His deference to the aged, his worshipful and reverential attitude towards his mother and uncles, his outspoken belief that the *baj* or commemoration of the dead should be regarded as an occasion for forgetting all feuds and forgiving all injuries and slights, and that personal kindness and consideration towards others was more pleasing to the dead than the wholesale distribution of money for charitable purposes, his obvious sincerity, his tolerance, his thrift—all these traits together speak of a nature free from worldly passion, striving to reach a higher plane. And as he fared forward on his pilgrimage, he gradually shed even the minor shortcomings which his critics laid to his charge—the direct and forceful attack upon the cherished beliefs of orthodoxy, his occasional inconsistencies

of thought and action, his aloofness from social life, and so forth—and in their place cultivated an attitude of optimism, from which his circle of friends and acquaintances derived at times no little comfort.

At the great memorial meeting held in Bombay on the 8th December 1909, to devise measures to commemorate Cama's services as a citizen, scholar, and reformer, the Bishop of Bombay, the Right Reverend James Palmer, D.D., paid an eloquent tribute to Cama's abiding faith in religion. 'I have no desire', said the Bishop, 'to stand here or anywhere in the guise of an honorary member of all religions. That is a position incompatible with sincerity and self-respect. Holding as I do that the religion to which I was born is absolute, and will one day become the religion of the world, I still stand here to add my tribute to the memory of Mr. Cama as a man of religion, because Mr. Cama did a great work for religion. As I understand it, Mr. Cama found that in his community Zoroastrianism had to a very great extent degenerated into formalism and even superstition, and he stepped forth to raise it to spirituality and to that degree of understanding which could render it again what it had been in the past—the faith of intelligent and upright men. That was a great achievement and one which all persons who reckon the cause of religion to be the highest in the world must welcome; and because indeed I recognize

that any religion should be believed in its best form and that all professors should gain from it the best that it has to give, I desire to add my tribute to Mr. Cama as a man of religion. Again, as one who has devoted a large part of his life to education I am proud to testify to the memory of Mr. Cama, who held, like all true educationists, that without religion all education is vain.' Thus did the piety and simplicity of one of the most faithful disciples of the prophet Zarathushtra earn respectful recognition from the highest dignitary of the Christian church in Western India.

Considering the exalted character of Cama's personal beliefs, many of his friends were surprised to hear of his joining the Theosophical Society in 1905. When Theosophy was first introduced into Bombay, he regarded the movement with indifference. But finding that the Theosophical Society encouraged the study of ancient religions and literature, and being impressed by the obvious earnestness of the Parsi members of the classes formed by the Society for studying the *Gathas* and similar subjects, he commenced to attend the Society's meetings, and at length in his seventy-third year permitted himself to be initiated by Mrs. Besant. According to Dr. J. J. Modi, he did so because he approved of the broad principles of Theosophy and believed that its main aim and object was Progress. At the same time, he did not subscribe to all its doctrines, and he was far too

faithful a Zoroastrian to accept such of its ideas as he discerned to be incompatible with the fundamental tenets of his own religion. Staunch disciple of Zoroaster as he was, he was never averse from acquainting himself with what was best in other creeds and beliefs.

Ere we conclude this brief review of Cama's personality, a word may be said about his faith in the power of the will to cure nervous ailments. He regarded body and mind as closely allied, but the mind as endowed with complete control over its partner. More than once during his life he acted on this conviction, as for example in 1897 when he took a tedious journey to Surat at the call of duty, albeit suffering from an attack of high fever caused by plague-inoculation. Similarly on the occasion of the golden jubilee celebration of the *Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha* he was attacked by fever and was forbidden by his doctor to leave the house. In spite of weakness, however, he attended the second day's gathering and delivered a long speech with his customary power. Again in 1901, when the doctors declared that the giddiness consequent upon a fall that he had had was due to vertigo, and that he would grow worse unless he gave up cold baths, took to stimulants, and relinquished much of his mental and physical activities, Cama spurned the physician's remedies, and fortified by a casual remark of Dr. Louis Gomes that ' will-power can control vertigo ', left his sick

bed the following day and went out of doors two days later. The giddiness persisted: but Cama fought against it and defied it, made no change in his habits, and eventually conquered his physical weakness. He read all the literature he could obtain on the subject of vertigo, and convinced himself that his own diagnosis and treatment of his case were more accurate than those of his medical advisers. One might be inclined to regard such a proceeding on the part of the average man as an indication of misplaced obstinacy; but the spiritual side of Cama's character was so strongly developed and exercised so marked an influence over his daily life, that his adherence to long-standing habits and practices in supersession of expert medical advice must be accepted as in the nature of a demonstration of his theory regarding the power of the mind to control and banish physical frailty.

The news of Cama's death on the 20th August 1909, at the ripe age of 78, was the signal for wide-spread expressions of grief, and for universal eulogy of his services to the Parsi community. Newspapers of every shade of opinion, both English and Indian, vied with one another in recalling his achievements as a student and reformer, and in paying a just tribute to the excellence of his life. The *Times of India*, the *Bombay Gazette*, the *Advocate of India*, the *Oriental Review*, which owed him a special debt of gratitude

for help in time of need, the *Sanj Vartaman*, the *Akbar-e-Soudagar*, the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, the *Bombay Samachar*, the *Rast Goftar*, the *Kaisar-i-Hind*, and the *Hindi Punch*, were among the many daily and weekly publications which proclaimed that the capital of Western India was the poorer by the departure of a valued citizen. Brother Freemasons composed elegies to his memory; the magazine of his old college, the *Elphinstonian*, published a sketch of his career which ended with an apt quotation from Charles Kingsley: 'He welcomed smilingly and joyfully the fresh thoughts of others, he kept unwearied his faith in God's government of the universe, in God's continued education of the human race; he had drawn around him the young and the sanguine, not merely to check their rashness by his wise cautions, but to inspire their sloth by the memories of his own past victories. He handed over, without envy or repining, the lamp of truth to younger runners than himself, and sat contentedly, bidding the new generation god-speed along the paths untrodden by him but seen afar off by faith.' Reference has been made on an earlier page to some of the resolutions in reference to his death adopted by the various literary and scientific associations with which he had been so long connected: and their expressions of sorrow mingled with the tributes and condolences conveyed to his sons by the leading men of the Parsi community, and by

the hundreds of citizens who had enjoyed the benefit of his friendship and had learned to appreciate the nobility of his character.

The general admiration felt for Cama by all classes in Bombay crystallized into an outspoken wish to establish a permanent memorial in his name. Accordingly, certain of his friends and admirers, headed by the late Dadabhai Naoroji and including representatives of the English, Hindu, Muhammadan, and Parsi communities in Bombay, issued on the 1st December 1909 a public summons convening a meeting, at which H.E. the Governor, Sir George Sydenham Clarke, consented to preside, on the 8th December 1909, at the Framji Kavasji Institute. The express object of the meeting was 'to place publicly on record the high sense of the esteem and regard in which the deceased was so universally held, and at the same time to give tangible expression to the general appreciation, admiration, and gratitude felt by all who had the good fortune to know him personally, or who have otherwise learned to know him through his many and valuable services to the causes of the Zarthoshti religion, of social and educational progress, and of Oriental scholarship'.

The meeting, which was largely attended by members of all communities in the city, opened with a fine tribute by the Governor to Mr. Cama's memory: 'We have met here to-day', said His Excellency, 'to pay our tribute of regard to a good

citizen of Bombay and to a man of whom any community and any country might well be proud. I only regret that I never had the opportunity of learning by personal intercourse the qualities of heart and of head which endeared him to his community, and which he turned to the best account in the service of the people of every degree. Shakespeare has told us that:

> "The purest treasure mortal times afford
> Is spotless reputation; that away,
> Men are but gilded loam or painted clay."

We all feel that Mr. Cama has left a spotless reputation. Earnest and strenuous as he was throughout his long life, and inspired by deep convictions which he was too honest to hide, he nevertheless made no enemies, and the general testimony to his nobility of character proves that he has left an enduring mark upon the life of his generation. It also proves, and this is a very encouraging sign, that a man of his type and of his modesty, can become a power and an object of admiration in an age that seems to be increasingly given over to self-seeking. If I were asked what is the most prominent characteristic of the present day, I think I should say that it was not the progress of science, not the marked advance of democracy, not even aviation, but that it was the growth of the art of advertisement in most branches of human life. Reasons why this should be might be given, and possibly it is only an unpleasant

temporary phase which will pass away to be ridiculed in history; but what I want to point out is that the art of advertisement was unknown to Mr. Cama, and that it is an art which his nature would have scorned to learn.' After referring briefly to the salient features of Cama's career and to his services to Government, the Governor concluded his remarks with the following words:

> 'I am sure that we all feel that Bombay should possess some memorial of so good a citizen. It is for others to decide what form such a remembrance should take. I will only say that I hope it may be possible to keep intact the valuable library which I understand he had collected, and which must have played a great part in his life-work. Such a library, with the associations now attaching to it, should not be allowed to be dispersed, and this, with other books relating to Oriental literature, would make a collection of great permanent value. In conclusion I will only say this, that the lesson I wish to draw from Mr. Cama's life, as I am able to understand it, is the power of moral courage. He obeyed the dictates of his conscience, and never hesitated to do or say what he thought right, without fear of criticism and without desire of notoriety. It was this quality, perhaps, above all others which enabled him to accomplish much for the good of others and which, now that he has passed away, entitles him to an enduring habitation in the memory of his community and of all the citizens of Bombay.'

On the conclusion of the Governor's speech,

Mr. Justice (now Sir Narayan) Chandavarkar addressed the meeting; and after referring to Mr. Cama's connexion with the Elphinstone College and the advantages which the first generation of Elphinstonians acquired from their close association with the English professorial staff of the College, he moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Colonel Forman, a distinguished official of All Scottish Freemasonry, and supported by Dastur Minocher Jamaspji.

> 'That this meeting desires to express its deep sense of the great loss sustained in the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, not only by the community to which he belonged, but by the City and Country to which he rendered throughout his long and laborious life eminent services as a citizen, a scholar, a friend of education, and a social and religious reformer.'

The Bishop of Bombay, whose words have been quoted on an earlier page, moved that H.E. the Governor should be requested to communicate the above resolution to the family of the deceased, and was followed by the late Sir Vithaldas Damodhar Thakersey, Mr. (now Sir) Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, and Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit. The final resolution was moved by the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, Principal of the Wilson College, who proposed the election of a large general committee to collect subscriptions for a memorial, and suggested that what the City chiefly needed was an institute which would attract those who were interested in

the study of things Indian, and which would form a centre and meeting-place for all scholars who visited the city. His proposal was seconded by Mr. (now Sir) Hormasji A. Wadya, and supported by Lieut.-Colonel Kirtikar, I.M.S.

On the 12th December, four days after the meeting, the Governor communicated a copy of the resolution above quoted to Mr. Rustom K. R. Cama in the following terms :

> 'I am charged by the Memorial Meeting in honour of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, held at the Framji Cowasji Institute on the 8th instant, of which I was chairman, to convey to you the accompanying resolution which was passed by acclamation. To this resolution I wish to add a personal expression of deep respect for the revered memory of the late Mr. Cama, and of warm sympathy for his family in the loss which they have sustained.'

Mr. Rustom K. R. Cama, in acknowledging with thanks the receipt of Sir George Clarke's letter, referred with gratitude to the active part played by the Governor in the scheme to perpetuate his father's name and to the warmth of the personal sympathy conveyed to the family.

A meeting of the general committee of the Memorial Fund was held on the 12th January 1910, in the Town Hall, with the Rev. Dr. Mackichan in the chair. A general discussion took place as to the form of the memorial, the upshot of which was a decision in favour of establishing in some

suitable centre a collection of Oriental literature, and of endowing scholarships for Oriental research. At this juncture Mr. Damodhar Gordhandas Sukhadwala, a well-known Hindu merchant and philanthropist, offered a sum of Rs. 100,000 (£6,666), if a Free Reading-room and Library and Oriental Institute were founded in the name of the late scholar. This generous offer went far towards the fulfilment of the plan contemplated by the friends and admirers of Mr. Cama; and the general committee, in formally accepting it with the conditions attaching thereto, empowered a small executive committee, chosen from among themselves, to issue an appeal for further funds for the establishment and equipment of an up-to-date Oriental Institute in Bombay.

Mr. Damodhar Gordhandas died in November 1913, before the amount of his donation was paid; but in accordance with his intentions, his executors arranged, with the approval of the committee of the Institute, that in lieu of the cash donation of Rs. 100,000, one floor of the newly-erected Sukhadwala building in Hornby Road should be permanently dedicated to the Cama Oriental Institute. Legal difficulties, however, prevented the completion of this arrangement; and eventually, in accordance with a decision of the High Court, the original sum of one lakh, together with ten months' interest on that amount at 6 per cent., was made over to the trustees of the Cama Institute, who at

the same time entered into a terminable tenancy of the flat in the Sukhadwala building for the purpose of housing the Institute. A trust-deed defining the objects of the Institute and the conditions of its maintenance was drawn up and approved at a meeting of subscribers held in October 1916; Cama's own valuable collection of Oriental works, presented by his executors, formed the nucleus of the Library, and to these have been added other Oriental works presented from time to time by the Bombay Government, the Mysore Government, and individual donors. The Mulla Firoz library, which had for many years been most unsuitably housed in the Dadysett fire-temple at Phanaswadi, has also now been accommodated in the Institute.

The inauguration ceremony of the Institute was performed on the 18th December, 1916, by H.E. Lord Willingdon, then Governor of Bombay, amid an influential gathering of Bombay's citizens. The annual report of the Institute for the year 1920 lies before the writer of this memoir, and affords agreeable proof that the object of those who sought to keep Cama's memory green has been fulfilled. The Bombay Government awarded a sum of Rs. 30,000 in trust, which the committee of the Institute decided to treat as a special endowment for the foundation of a fellowship, the interest thereof being devoted in the first instance to the work of compiling a full descriptive catalogue of all books and manuscripts housed in the Insti-

tute, on the lines of the catalogues prepared for the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the British Museum, and the Mulla Firoz Library. In 1920 the annual fellowship was awarded to the author of a series of lectures on Pahlavi inscriptions and numismatics. An annual prize in memory of Bai Aimai, Cama's second wife, payable from invested funds presented to the Institute by Miss S. Manekji Cursetji and Cama's children, is awarded to Avesta and Pahlavi students of either sex, who submit essays for competition on themes chosen by the committee of the Institute. Another annual prize, payable from funds likewise contributed by the same donors, was founded in 1918 in memory of Cama's son, Surrosh, who died in 1908, and is open to competition in Bombay, Europe, and America. The committee has also received about Rs. 14,000 for the foundation of a research fellowship from Mr. R. R. Desai, one of the executors of the will of the late Mr. E. J. Khory. Original research into the history of the Parsis in India is being conducted by a Parsi scholar, specially selected by the committee, the cost of the work being defrayed from funds generously provided by a member of that community and his wife. The Mulla Firoz Madressa holds its classes on the premises of the Institute, which is also thrown open for meetings of the *Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandali* and of the *Parsi Lekhak Mandal* (Parsi Writers' Association), with which Cama was closely asso-

ciated as President from the date (1898) of its foundation. Lectures, which are open to the public, are delivered at the Institute, and the library is constantly enriched by the gift of books and manuscripts. Every year the Institute celebrates the anniversary of Mr. Cama's death by meeting to hear the annual report of the Joint Honorary Secretaries, to award the annual prizes, and to listen to a discourse by an Indian scholar on some aspect of the great subject which Cama, during his lifetime, made pre-eminently his own. Thus the torch of Oriental research is carried forward by willing hands, and in the institution born out of the public admiration for a blameless life the memory of the dead scholar finds a permanent resting-place.

Here it is meet to close the tale of Kharshedji Rustamji Cama's life. To them that have understanding the lesson of his career will be plain. From the hour when he entered upon his career as a student up to the moment when he passed out of this worldly existence at the bidding of the Supreme Power, he devoted all his mind and all his innate strength of will to the fulfilment of the three cardinal principles of the Zoroastrian religion—'Good Thoughts, Good Words, Good Deeds.' Some one who had noticed the piety of his conduct and the tranquillity of his bearing, once remarked that, had he been born in the Western World, Cama would have become a great ecclesiastical

dignitary. It may have been some similar train of thought which prompted Darmesteter, who knew his great services to the cause of religion, to style him 'the lay Dastur'. Cama, though a lay reformer, possessed many of the attributes of the true priest, of the saintly leader of worship, bringing down, by faithful heroism in word and deed, a light from Heaven into the daily life of his people; leading them forward, as under God's guidance, in the way wherein they were to go. Moreover, as Carlyle has written, 'Is not every true Reformer, by the nature of him, a *Priest* first of all? He appeals to Heaven's invisible justice against Earth's visible force; knows that it, the invisible, is strong and alone strong. He is a believer in the divine order of things; a *seer*, seeing through the shows of things; a worshipper, in one way or the other, of the divine truth of things.' The veneration which his own circle of friends and acquaintances exhibited towards Cama, the respect and admiration accorded to him by the general public—these were the tributes paid to a nobility of character which a few might strive to emulate, but none could hope to surpass. His very disdain of worldly honours and rewards differentiated him from the general body of his fellow men, and among the most critical of his adversaries in the struggle for religious and social reform none could be found to deny his absolute selflessness and his transparent sincerity. The

reward which Cama sought was not of this world; and surely, with the record of his life before us, we may rightly believe that he reached the ultimate goal upon which, through all the chances, trials, and disappointments of his earthly pilgrimage, his gaze was ever fixed. The *Chinvat Peretu*, 'The Bridge of Judgment,' if the ancient belief be true, has no perils and no terrors for the Soul of the just man. Meher, the wise and powerful Angel of the Bridge, stands there to welcome it and point out the celestial road to its immortal Home.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF MR. K. R. CAMA'S WORKS

(a) *In English*

1. Jamshedi Naoroz, the New Year's Day of the Ancient Persian Empire ; Bombay, 1874.
2. The Religion and Customs of the Persians and other Iranians as described by Greek and Roman authors ; translated from the German of Dr. Adolf Rapp : in 16 parts, Bombay, 1876–9.
3. The Zoroastrian Mode of disposing of the Dead ; Bombay, 1879.
4. The Zoroastrian Religion as one of the Sources of Modern Philosophy : translated from the German of Dr. Roth ; Bombay, 1879.
5. Avesta and the Genesis, or the Relations of the Iranians to the Semites : translated from the German of Dr. Fr. Spiegel ; Bombay, 1880.
6. Comparison of the Laws of Ormuzd with the Laws of Jehovah.
7. The Persian and the Jewish Doctrines.
8. Discourses delivered at the Freemasons' Jamshedi Naoroz Festivals.
9. Jamshedi Naoroz ; Bombay, 1882.
10. A Discourse on the Mithraic Worship and the Rites and Mysteries connected with it ; Bombay, 1876.
11. Zoroastrians and Freemasonry ; Bombay, 1876.
12. Freemasonry among the Natives of India ; Bombay, 1877.
13. The Jewish Angelology and Demonology ; Bombay, 1880.
14. The Interval between one *Gāhānbār* and another ; Bombay, 1871.

(b) *In Gujarathi*

1. *Zarthoshti Abhyas* in twelve parts ; Bombay, 1866–9.
2. *Zarthosht Nama* ; Bombay, 1869 (?).
3. Lectures on the Zoroastrian Religion ; Bombay, 1869.
4. *Yajdajardi Tarikh* ; Bombay, 1870.
5. Lectures on *Gātha Gāhānbār* ; Bombay, 1871.
6. *Bun-i-Iran Danesh az Zaban Shanasi* ; Bombay, 1871.
7. Lectures on *Jamshedi Naoroz, Zarthosht-no Diso, Muktad, Khordadsal*, &c.
8. Lectures on Plague and Plague-inoculation ; Bombay, 1897.

APPENDIX B

MR. K. R. CAMA'S FASLI CALENDAR

The year (Sal) of the current Parsi calendar consists of 365 days, divided into 12 months (Mah) of 30 days (Roz) each, and five additional days called Gatha. The names of the months beginning with Fravardin, and those of the days of each month beginning with Hormazd, are given in the table below. There are in this year, among other festivals, six consisting of five days each called Gahambar, the last or fifth day in each group being considered the chief. The names of the *Gahambars* commonly used are (1) Mediozarem, (2) Medioshem, (3) Paitishem, (4) Ayathrem, (5) Mediarem, and (6) Hamaspathmedem, the last of which coincides with the Gathas. The last day of each is respectively the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th day of the year. There is a difference of opinion among Parsis as to the day on which the year begins; the Kadmis begin it just thirty days before the Shehenshais, so that in A. D. 1920 the former began it on the 11th August and the latter on the 10th September. Both parties use the Era of Yazdezard Sheryar, the last Zoroastrian monarch of Persia of the Sassanian dynasty, which begins on the 16th June A. D. 632. Thus its 1290th year began on the 11th August 1920, the Kadmi New Year's Day; the Shehenshais are supposed to have intercalated a month at some time, and hence their New Year's Day fell thirty days later.

Mr. Cama was of opinion that as the *Gahambars* were season-festivals in ancient times in Persia, the Parsi year at present ought also to be made seasonal or Fasli. He held that up to the downfall of the Sassanian monarchy the Persians must have used a seasonal year beginning with the vernal equinox, at least for religious if not for mundane purposes, and further that for this purpose they must have intercalated one day every four years. He was also of opinion that the first month of the year should be not Fravardin as at present, but

Deh, which is at present the tenth, because, among other reasons, Deh is the name of the Creator and therefore ought to come first, and also because Deh began very near the vernal equinox in A.D. 632.

To carry out his views Mr. Cama proposed the adoption of a calendar with a year always beginning on the 21st of March of the Gregorian calendar with the Parsi month Deh. The months were to be each of thirty days, and the months as well as days of the month were to bear the same names and come in the same order as in the current Parsi year, but in each Gregorian leap year there was to be a sixth Gatha falling on March 20th. The *Gahambars* were to fall at the same distances from the commencement of the year as in the current calendar, and therefore in different months from those in which they fall in the current calendar. For example, the last day of Mediozarem, which is the 15th of the current month Ardibesht, was to be the 15th of the Fasli month Bahman. The days of this Fasli calendar would thus correspond permanently with those of the Gregorian as shown in the following table, due allowance being made for the last twenty-one days of the Fasli year in the Gregorian leap years. On the other hand the days of the current Parsi calendar fall one day earlier after each Gregorian leap year, so that the 1st of Fravardin Kadmi which fell on the 11th August 1920 will fall on the 8th August 1932 on account of the three intervening leap-year days.

TABLE OF FASLI AND GREGORIAN DATES

Gregorian	*Fasli*	
	Month	*Day*
21 March	I. Deh	1 Hormazd
22 „		2 Bahman
23 „		3 Ardibehsht
24 „		4 Shahrivar
25 „		5 Aspandad
26 „		6 Khurdad
27 „		7 Amardad
28 „		8 Depadar
29 „		9 Adar
30 „		10 Avan
31 „		11 Khorshed
1 April		12 Mohr
2 „		13 Tir
3 „		14 Gosh
4 „		15 Dap Mehr
5 „		16 Mehr
6 „		17 Srosh
7 „		18 Rashne
8 „		19 Fravardin
9 „		20 Behram
10 „		21 Ram
11 „		22 Guvad
12 „		23 Dep Din
13 „		24 Din
14 „		25 Ashisang
15 „		26 Astad
16 „		27 Asman
17 „		28 Jamiad
18 „		29 Mahres-pand
19 „		30 Aneran

Gregorian	*Fasli*	
	Month	*Day*
20 Apr.	II Bahman	1 Hormazd
1 May	„	12 Mohr
20 May	III Aspandad	1 Hormazd
1 June	„	13 Tir
19 June	IV Fravardin	1 Hormazd
1 July	„	13 Tir
19 July	V Ardibehsht	1 Hormazd
1 Aug.	„	14 Gosh
18 Aug.	VI Khurdad	1 Hormazd
1 Sept.	„	15 Dap Mehr
17 Sept.	VII Tir	1 Hormazd
1 Oct.	„	15 Dap Mehr
17 Oct.	VIII Amardad	1 Hormazd
1 Nov.	„	16 Mehr
16 Nov.	IX Shahrivar	1 Hormazd
1 Dec.	„	16 Mehr
16 Dec.	X Mehr	1 Hormazd
1 Jan.	„	17 Srosh
15 Jan.	XI Avan	1 Hormazd
1 Feb.	„	18 Rashne
14 Feb.	XII Adar	1 Hormazd
In Common Years		
1 Mar.	XII Adar	16 Mehr
16 Mar.	„	1 Gatha
20 Mar.	„	5 Gatha
In Leap Years		
29 Feb.	XII Adar	16 Mehr
1 Mar.	„	17 Srosh
15 Mar.	„	1 Gatha
20 Mar.	„	6 Gatha

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